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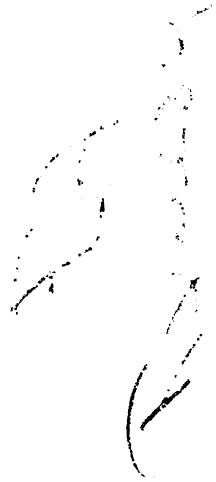

UNIVERSAL HISTORY

AMERICANISED;

OR,

AN HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE WORLD,

FROM THE EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE YEAR 1808.

WITH A PARTICULAR REFERENCE

TO THE

STATE OF SOCIETY, LITERATURE, RELIGION, AND FORM OF GOVERNMENT,

IN THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY DAVID RAMSAY, M. D.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,

A SUPPLEMENT,

CONTAINING

A BRIEF VIEW OF HISTORY,

FROM THE YEAR 1808 TO THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

"Life is so short, and time so valuable, that it were happy for us if all "great works were reduced to their quintessence." *Sir William Jones.*

"Primaque ab origine mundi
"Ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen." *Ovid.*

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

VOL. VII.

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JAMES JERVEY, *District Clerk,*
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RAMSAY'S

UNIVERSAL HISTORY.

IRELAND.

IRELAND is about three hundred miles in length; and one hundred and sixty in its greatest breadth; extending from 51° to 55° 30′ north latitude, and from 6° to 10° west longitude. The contents in square miles is computed at twenty-seven thousand four hundred and forty-seven. The population being estimated at three millions, affords a proportion of one hundred and fourteen inhabitants to a square mile. Its nearest distance from Scotland is a little more than twenty miles, and from Wales about forty-five miles.

It is bounded by the Atlantic ocean on every side, except towards the east, where the narrow sea, called St. George's channel, separates it from Great Britain.

The ancient Latin, as well as the Irish, and modern English names, Hibernia, Erin, and Ireland, are of uncertain etymology. The Romans, towards the latter part of their reign in Britain, discovering that the Scoti were the ruling tribe in Ireland, distinguished that country by the appellation of Scotia, which having been afterwards transferred to Scotland, the ancient name of Hibernia was revived by the Latin writers, and this, in time, gave place to the modern name of Ireland.

The lakes or loughs of Ireland are very numerous, especially in Ulster and Connaught. Some of them are of a considerable extent; and many of them abound in excellent fish.

Lough Earn is above thirty miles in length, and twelve in its greatest breadth. Lough Neagh is the next in extent, being twenty-two miles long, and twelve broad, and is said to possess a petrifying quality. But the lake of Killarney is celebrated above all the other Irish loughs, for its picturesque beauties, and romantic views. It is entirely surrounded with mountains, rocks, and precipices, the vast declivities of which are covered with woods decorated with evergreens. Among these a number of rivulets tumbling over the precipices, from heights of nearly one hundred yards, form a scene exquisitely grand and beautiful. The echoes among the surrounding hills are delightful. The earl of Glenmore, the noble proprietor of this enchanting spot, has placed some pieces of cannon for the amusement of travellers. The discharge of these, echoing amidst the surrounding hills, is awfully tremendous, beyond all the powers of description.

From the neglect of agriculture and drainage, the rains of successive ages subsiding into the lower grounds have converted most of the plains into barren and watery swamps, covered with moss, the putrid repositories of stagnant waters, which taint the air with noxious exhalations. The bog of Allen contains about three hundred thousand acres. Heath, bog, myrtle, and a little sedgy grass, constitute the whole of their vegetation. Most of these bogs might, by draining, be improved into good meadow grounds.

The mines of Ireland, although but lately discovered, promise to become considerably important. There are several of silver and lead; and in some of these, thirty pounds weight of lead ore produce a pound of silver. Considerable quantities of native gold have been found in the county of Wicklow, to the south of Dublin. Copper has recently been found. One of the principal mineral productions of Ireland is iron, the mines of which were little known until towards the end of the sixteenth century.

The beds of coal which exist in various regions of Ireland, have not been sufficiently explored. Near Kilkenny is also found very fine marble.

The soil of Ireland, although the substratum is almost an entire rock, exceeds that of England in natural fertility. But agriculture has hitherto labcured under many disadvantages. Tillage is little understood; and the turnip, and clover husbandry is almost wholly unknown. The soil is so stony, that Mr. Young considers the whole island as an immense rock, with a slight covering of clay, loam, or sand, all intermixed with a great proportion of stone; and he farther observes, that the clays of England could not be cultivated, if they were drenched with such deluges of rain, as fall on the calcareous rocks of Ireland, and regards it as a wise and bountiful dispensation of Providence, that the most rocky soil in Europe is allotted to the moistest climate, and rendered productive by this happy coincidence.

The climate of Ireland differs little from that of England, except in its greater degree of humidity. The superabundance of moisture is one of the greatest physical inconveniences of Ireland. To it, the westerly winds are extremely prejudicial, by bringing thither the accumulated vapours of an immense ocean, which descend in such continual rains, as sometimes threaten the total destruction of all the fruits of the earth. But the keen frosts, the deep snows, and violent thunder storms, so frequently experienced in England, are almost wholly unknown in Ireland, where there is less difference between summer and winter, than perhaps in any other country without the tropics.

Wood is now scarce in Ireland; but forests of considerable extent formerly existed in several counties, particularly in Ulster, Connaught, Mayo, and Sligo. Some are yet seen in Leinster, Wexford, and Carlow, but scarcely the semblance of a forest any where remains. Extensive bogs have now usurped the place of the ancient forests, to which, in conjunction with the excessive humidity of the climate, they seem to owe their origin. They are probably the consequence of the heavy rains stagnating on the ground, and with the accession of falling leaves, and rotting grass, &c. forming a vegetable earth supersaturated with moisture, to which the

trees, loosened at the roots, and decayed, at last fall a prey. The masses of timber often found buried in those swamps, where no trees could at present be reared, strongly corroborate this opinion. The ornaments of gold and other relics of antiquity, found in many of the bogs of Ireland, are proofs of their recent formation; and in proportion to their increase, the forests have been diminished. Other causes have also contributed to their extirpation. The extension of tillage, since the entrance of the English, and the great consumption of wood for fuel in the iron manufactures, in consequence of the coal mines not being explored, have concurred to produce this effect. The advanced state of cultivation in Ireland will also continually tend to cause a greater scarcity of wood.

The viper, the only poisonous reptile of England, is not to be found in Ireland; the common assertion, that no venomous animals exist in that island, appears to be founded in fact. The numbers of cattle and hogs produced there, may be guessed at by the vast exportation of salted beef and pork; although, if the common people of Ireland, lived as plentifully as those of England, a much less quantity could be spared from home consumption. Numerous herds of deer have been mentioned by ancient authors; but the progress of agriculture has now rendered that animal rare. In various parts of the island are dug up horns of deer or some similar animal, which are of an enormous size, some having been found which extend fourteen feet from tip to tip, furnished with huge antlers, and weighing not less than three hundred pounds. The whole skeleton is frequently found.

Ireland contains some stupendous works of nature, which have excited the astonishment of every spectator. Among these, the Giant's Causeway is of distinguished celebrity. It consists of a vast collection of basaltic columns, closely compacted together, although of all the variety of angular forms, from three to seven sides. The pillars, which are several thousands in number, are from one to two feet in diameter, and seldom composed of one entire piece, but generally consisting of about forty stones, which easily separate, although

fitted together with the greatest exactness. The joints by which they are united are some of them plain; others have a concave socket, exactly adjusted to a corresponding convexity. These pillars are mostly in a vertical position. Their height is unequal, varying from sixteen to thirty-six feet above the level of the strand. In some places they are, for a considerable space, of so uniform a height as to form at the top, an even pavement. This Causeway projects from a precipitous coast into the sea to an unknown extent; its breadth varying from forty to eighty yards. This wonderful work of nature is situated about eight miles from Coleraine, in the county of Antrim. A considerable part of the adjacent coast, particularly the capes of Bengore, and Fairhead, are not inferior objects of curiosity. These precipitous promontories, which are eight miles distant from each other, composed of different strata of black and red stone, disposed in the most curious and regular manner, intermixed with magnificent colonnades of basalt, exhibit a grand and singular appearance. All these are objects only of recent observation. The first account that we have of the Giant's Causeway is that given by sir R. Buckley in 1693. The origin of the basaltic substance, which appears to be a mixture of silicious and argillaceous earth, with about one-fourth part of iron, is a matter of serious dispute among naturalists; the cause of its production, whatever it may be, has operated in a very extensive range. Its existence may be traced along a coast of fifty miles in length.

Venerable ruins, magnificent remains of ancient architecture, or other monuments of art, are not to be expected in Ireland, where, till the eleventh or twelfth century, all the edifices were of wood.

Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland, is divided almost into two equal parts by the river Liffy which runs through it, and being banked on both sides, presents a number of commodious quays, where vessels load and unload close to the warehouses. This river is crossed by six bridges. Dublin in its appearance bears a near resemblance to London; the houses

are built of brick, and the new streets are not inferior in elegance to those of the British metropolis. Great improvements have lately been made, and Dublin is now opulent, commercial, and elegant. The environs are delightful, and decorated with many seats of the nobility and gentry. Its present population is one hundred and fifty thousand, and its circumference about ten miles.

Next to Dublin, in population, commerce and opulence, is Cork, a city of great importance, distant about seven miles from the sea. The haven is one of the most safe and capacious that Europe can boast, and although small vessels only can come up to the city, Cork is the greatest port in Ireland. This being the great mart of Irish provisions, is much frequented by shipping from Great Britain bound to the West India Islands, and also by those of most foreign nations. Not less than three hundred thousand head of cattle are supposed to be annually killed and salted here, between the months of August and January. The principal exports are beef, hides, tallow, and butter. The number of its inhabitants is supposed to exceed seventy thousand.

Limerick is next to Cork, in importance. It is a well built, populous, and commercial city, and was formerly a place of great strength. Its principal exports are salted provisions. The number of its inhabitants are about fifty thousand. From the ninth to the eleventh century, Limerick was possessed by the Danes. In the reign of Charles I, it was seized by the Irish, who held it till the 27th October, 1651, when they were obliged to surrender it to lieutenant general Treton, after the defeat of the last army, that they could bring to its relief. In the war, which followed the revolution, it was besieged by William III, in person, who found himself obliged to raise the siege on the 30th August, 1690. But it was at length reduced by general Ginkle, to whom it surrendered in October, 1691, by a civil and military capitulation. In all the wars, by which Ireland has been so often afflicted, the possession of Limerick has always been considered as a point of great importance.

Londondery has acquired military fame by its vigorous resistance in 1649, against the collective force of the Irish rebels, and still more, by the memorable siege which it sustained, against the army of king James, under the pressure of the severest famine.

Belfast, the centre of the linen manufacture, is a flourishing town. The principal exports are to the West Indies, and the commercial intercourse between this place and Glasgow is very considerable. The principal manufactures of Belfast are those of cotton, cambric, linen, cloth, glass, sugar, and earthern ware. The population is computed at eighteen thousand.

Drogheda is situated on the Boyne, which contributes greatly to its prosperity. Being taken by assault on the 10th of September, 1649, by Oliver Cromwell, it experienced the severity of a sanguinary conqueror. Not only the garrison, but also the inhabitants, men, women, and children, were put to the sword, and the town for a considerable time laid almost in ruins. At length, however, it gradually recovered, and is now a thriving place. It is supposed to contain about ten thousand inhabitants.

GENERAL HISTORY.

A country insulated by nature, and during a long succession of ages unnoticed, and almost unknown, cannot be expected to exhibit a series of splendid annals. The ancient history of Ireland would afford a view of men and manners, which would be interesting, if the gloom which obscures it could be removed; but this is impossible.

With respect to the original population of Ireland no authentic documents exist; but in all probability the first settlers were from Gaul, perhaps through the medium of England, from whence fresh colonies were received when the Belgæ invaded Britain.

The introduction and zealous adoption of Christianity among the Irish in the fifth or sixth century, is the most important event, which their ancient history records. The particulars, which relate to this interesting subject, are considerably disguised by legend, and it is not known who were the first preachers of the gospel in that island. St. Patrick found at his landing in it, christian missionaries, who had already made many proselytes, but his superior success procured him the honourable appellation of the apostle of Ireland, and his disciples were, according to the testimony of historians, so eminent in the practice and propagation of religion, that in the succeeding ages the island was denominated, "Sanctorum Patria, the country of Saints." We are also told, that the Irish monks so greatly excelled in literary pursuits, as to send into all parts of Europe numbers of learned men, who were the founders of several abbeys in Burgundy, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and Britain. No doubt exists of the fact, that the introduction of Christianity, greatly improved the moral, civil, and literary state of the country.

The literary pre-eminence of the Irish, in the seventh and eighth centuries, is generally acknowledged. In those dark ages, some eminent luminaries arose among the Irish monks, disciples, or successors of St. Patrick, who travelled into various parts of Europe and diffused light into different countries.

The end of the eighth, or the beginning of the ninth century, is the epoch generally assigned to the entrance of the Danes into Ireland. Historians agree that they subdued a considerable part of the island, and built Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and other maritime towns, which they possessed, until the English conquest in the reign of Henry II. This period of Irish history is no less obscure than the former. Indeed it is not to be expected, that the ravages of those barbarians should have been favourable to the transmission of historical light: it seems more probable that the monuments of Irish learning perished during these times of turbulence and confusion.

As far as can be learned, from the obscure and mutilated records of those dark ages, Ireland had, from time immemorial, been divided into a number of petty kingdoms. These were gradually reduced to seven, Leinster, Cork, Ulster, Connaught, Ossory, Meath, and Limerick. One of these petty sovereigns generally kept the others in a sort of dependence. About the middle of the twelfth century Connaught had acquired this political ascendency, and Roderic, king of that country, contemporary with Henry II, of England, is, by the ancient annalists, entitled king of Ireland. Among the other sovereigns, then reigning in Ireland, Dermot, king of Leinster, was one of the most powerful; but, by his arbitrary government, exceedingly unpopular among his subjects. Supposing himself to be above all control, he precipitated his misfortunes, by debauching and carrying off the wife of O'Roric, king of Meath. The latter, to revenge the affront, levied an army, and with the assistance of Roderic, king of Connaught, entered the dominions of Dermot, who took refuge in England, and passing over to Normandy solicited the assistance of Henry II, promising to hold his kingdom as a fief of the crown of England, in case of his restoration. Henry was unwilling to lose so favourable an opportunity of extending his dominions. He therefore granted his royal license to all Englishmen, who would voluntarily engage in the enterprise; and, to sanction the measure, he solicited, and readily obtained, a papal bull, authorizing him to reduce Ireland to his subjection and to the obedience of the church; as that country, in which Christianity had so long been established, had not yet acknowledged the supremacy of the see of Rome. To this bull, the condition, that Peterpence, or the tribute of one penny for every house in Ireland, should be regularly paid to his holiness, was annexed. Both the pope, and the king, had therefore strong motives for encouraging the enterprise. The exiled king of Leinster then returned into England, and by the promise of his daughter in marriage, with the succession to his crown, on his demise, engaged Richard Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, to espouse his quarrel.

Robert Fitzstephen being also allured by the hopes of great acquisitions in Ireland, undertook to accompany him; and these prevailed on many of their friends to join in the enterprise. Dermot then returned into Ireland accompanied by Fitzstephen, and his party. These, consisted of four hundred men, landed near Waterford, and laid siege to Wexford. This place being soon reduced was, by the king of Leinster, given to Fitzstephen. The adventurers being afterwards reinforced, marched against the king of Ossory, who, being unprepared for the attack, was obliged to submit to such conditions as the enemy thought fit to impose. In the mean while, the other princes of the island being convened by Roderic, king of Connaught, it was resolved, that the war should be made a common cause, and that all should unite to expel the English. But before any effectual measures were taken for that purpose, the earl of Pembroke landing with twelve hundred men, took Waterford, where he put all the inhabitants to the sword, and, having married Dermot's daughter, took possession of the kingdom of Leinster, devolved on him by the death of that prince. The adventurers pushing forward their conquest made themselves masters of Dublin, and several other places. All Ireland was panic struck; the whole kingdom was thrown into confusion; and Roderic, with the confederate princes, made a very feeble opposition to their progress. Henry growing jealous of their extraordinary success, and apprehensive that they would conquer the whole country without his assistance, hit on an expedient to secure their dependence. He prohibited the exportation of arms and provisions from England to Ireland, and commanded all his subjects immediately to return. The adventurers perceiving themselves unable to maintain their standing against the Irish on one hand, and Henry on the other, sent deputies to assure him of their obedience, and invite him to come and take possession of their conquests. This proposal, perfectly corresponding with Henry's intention, he entered into an agreement with the conquerors, that all the maritime towns should be put into his hands, and that they should keep possession of

their inland conquests. Henry then passed over into Ireland, where he received the homage of all the petty kings of the island, and thus, without hazard or expense, made an acquisition of singular importance to England, and without which the British empire would be incomplete. In reviewing the accounts of this expedition, we cannot but observe the unwarlike state of the Irish at that period. Although they had so long been harassed by the Danes or Easterlings, and so frequently agitated by intestine commotions, they seem to have been totally ignorant of the art of war, and unacquainted with military discipline. The whole force of the nation could not withstand a handful of adventurers, whose number does not appear to have ever much exceeded two thousand.

A variety of circumstances afford incontestible evidence, that, in the twelfth century, the Irish were very little advanced in civilization, whatever lustre they might, in more early ages, have received from the extraordinary abilities of some of their primitive monks.

Ireland was easily conquered; but it was not so easily held in subjection. The kings of England were the real sovereigns only of the maritime towns, which were held by their garrisons. In the year 1393, the Irish, after repeated insurrections, began to show dispositions for a general revolt. In the splendid and vigorous reign of Edward III, they were held in such awe by his military reputation, that he drew from the country an annual revenue of thirty thousand pounds. After his death, instead of receiving any revenue, the crown was at the yearly expense of thirty thousand marks in maintaining a nominal authority. Numbers of the colonists, finding their situations unsafe, left the country, and returned into England. Those who remained, being utterly unable to resist the depredations of the natives, Richard II, issued a proclamation, by which all the English, who belonged to Ireland, were commanded, under the penalty of death, immediately to return to that country. To prevent the entire loss of the island, he conducted thither, in person, a powerful army. Other affairs, however, requiring his presence in England, he committed

the management of the war to the earl of March. This commander was shortly after slain in a battle against the natives, who had taken up arms throughout the whole kingdom; and, by their successes, threatened the total extirpation of the English. The Irish by their acquaintance, during two centuries with the English, had imbibed a more warlike spirit; and, perhaps, acquired greater military skill, than they displayed in the time of Henry II. The revolt was now so general, and began to assume so formidable an appearance, that Richard, assembling a numerous army again passed over into Ireland, and gained considerable advantages; but while he flattered himself with the hope of reducing the whole island to subjection, that conspiracy was formed against him in England, by which he lost his crown, and his life. In consequence of this revolution, the conquest of Ireland was left incomplete.

England continued to enjoy a kind of precarious and unprofitable sovereignty over Ireland; which, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, was near being totally lost by the earl of Tyrone. The unfortunate earl of Essex being, in 1599, sent with an army of twenty thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry, to crush this revolt, effected nothing, and terminated the expedition by a truce with the rebel chief. Tyrone violated the truce, rendered himself master of the whole province of Ulster, and, having received a body of troops from Spain, he became so formidable, as to threaten the total expulsion of the English. The lord deputy Mountjoy, who succeeded Essex, gave the first check to this formidable revolt by a decisive action, in which the Irish rebels were totally defeated, and Tyrone being taken prisoner, was brought to England. To conciliate the Catholics of Ireland, this notorious offender was pardoned, and favourably received at court by James I. But his restless disposition incited him to raise a new rebellion, and to form in concert with the earl of Tyrconnel, a project for seizing the castle of Dublin. This plot being discovered, the conspirators fled beyond sea for safety; and, after some ineffectual struggle, the remains of their party

were crushed. The different attainders of the Irish rebels put the crown in possession of about five hundred thousand acres of forfeited lands; a circumstance, which, although it gave rise to a number of English colonies, had a fatal effect in the succeeding reign. No plan could, indeed, have been better formed for the advancement of industry and civilization in that country, than the introduction of English inhabitants, but the malignity which rankled in the breasts of those whose interests were ruined by its operations, produced one of the most horrible scenes recorded in history. The multitude of attainders excited the Irish leaders to adopt the most sanguinary measures to repossess the confiscated estates; and it was easy to convert a barbarous and bigotted people into instruments for carrying them into execution. A conspiracy was formed, for involving all the protestants in Ireland, in one general massacre.

This conspiracy, being deeply laid, was carried into extensive, although not complete execution, A. D. 1641. The number of protestants, who in different parts of the country, were the victims of national hatred and revenge, has, by historians, been variously computed, but appears to have been about forty thousand. The sanguinary project being fortunately discovered by the English government of Dublin, that city was saved from its dreadful effects. This formidable rebellion was entirely crushed by the vigorous exertions of Cromwell, who retaliated on the Irish, the cruelties which they had inflicted on others.

The siege of Drogheda exhibits a shocking proof, that inhumanity and bigotry are not the characteristics of one particular nation, or of one particular religion. The parliamentary army of England, in the indiscriminate massacre of the guilty and the innocent, shewed themselves to be not less sanguinary, than the catholics of Ireland.

The Irish had so severely suffered by the arms of Cromwell, that they continued quiet, during the whole reign of Charles II. James, his brother and successor, made choice of Ireland as the theatre on which, after the revolution, the

contest for the crown of England was to be decided. After a scene of various success, the ultimate decision took place at the battle of the Boyne. The two rival princes James II, and his son-in-law William III, both commanded in person. William had the superiority in numbers, his army consisting of about thirty-six thousand; while his antagonist had no more than thirty-three thousand, and many of these no better than an undisciplined rabble. James had the advantage of situation, but this could not counterbalance the want of military discipline. He left the field in a manner which was scarcely consistent with the bravery which he had formerly shown on various occasions, but perhaps his conviction of the inutility of attempting to rally his undisciplined troops, might, in this respect, determine his conduct. Had he been victorious, he might probably have re-ascended the throne; and unless his distresses and dangers had operated a reform in his conduct, there was reason to apprehend, that being victorious over his enemies, and considering himself above all control, he would have carried forward his arbitrary designs with renovated vigour. Heaven determined otherwise, he was overthrown; the crown *forever* lost to his family, and the revolution established.

Before the time of the subjugation of Ireland by Cromwell, and the important epoch of the revolution, an extraordinary change had taken place in the state of that country. At the former period, and for some time after, cattle were so scarce, that many got fortunes by carrying theirs thither from England; but before the latter event took place, Ireland furnished vast exports of beef, hides, tallow, &c. to foreign countries, as well as to the American colonies, and in time, poured such quantities of live stock into England, that the interests of landed property rendered an absolute prohibition necessary. This singular change was effected through the industry and attention of the colonies of English soldiers, settled there by the commonwealth, after its conquest of the country.* The immense forfeitures, which arose from the re-

* Anderson Hist. Com. vol. 2. p. 507.

peated rebellions, would soon, if strictly enforced, have been sufficient to people the island with British inhabitants. But it would have been impolitic to have driven the Irish to despair, and left them no resource, but revolt or emigration. It was also deemed prudent to preserve a due balance between the catholic and protestant interests. And the friends of the revolution were sufficiently gratified without proceeding to extremities against its opponents.

For more than a century after these events, nothing occurred of more importance, than contests respecting commercial questions and restrictions imposed by England on the trade of Ireland. When a great part of the king's troops were withdrawn from Ireland to be employed in the American war, a considerable number of the Irish gentlemen, yeomen, farmers, and traders, armed themselves, and formed volunteer associations for the defence of the island against foreign invasion. By degrees these companies became numerous and formidable, and beginning to feel their own strength, resolved, to attempt, by constitutional means the removal of many restrictions on their trade. Their remonstrances met with attention, both from their own and the English parliament. Both the Irish houses presented addresses to his Majesty, in which they represented the necessity and propriety of granting to Ireland a free commerce. The members of the opposition party in the British parliament represented in the strongest terms the necessity of attending to the complaints, and granting the requests of the people of Ireland, and corroborated their argument by exhibiting a view of the great strength of the volunteer associations, which, according to the generally accredited accounts, amounted to eighty thousand men well armed, and daily improving in discipline, self-appointed, and independent. The result of the business was, that the restrictions most detrimental to the Irish trade were removed; and the affair amicably settled to the mutual benefit of both kingdoms. These concessions on the part of Great Britain were received with great joy in Ireland; and liberal indulgences were also ac-

corded to the roman catholics by the parliament of that kingdom. All catholic freeholders acquired the liberty of voting for representatives. But although, by the concession of the elective franchise, the establishment of the legality of intermarriages with protestants, their admission to the benefits of education, and to the profession of the law; and the removal of all other restraints on their industry, the catholics were in a great measure restored to the civil rights, their leaders did not appear satisfied with what had been granted. In the beginning of the year 1795, earl Fitzwilliam being appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, transmitted to the minister his opinion of the necessity of concession, as the means of preserving tranquillity. A committee was appointed to prepare a petition to parliament for the removal of all remaining disqualifications, to which the catholics were yet subject. And Mr. Grattan moved for leave to bring in a bill for their further relief. The whole measure was, however, defeated; and lord Fitzwilliam suddenly recalled. No governor of a province in any empire, ancient or modern, was ever more honoured during his stay, or more regretted at his departure. The day on which his lordship left Dublin was observed in that city, as a day of general mourning; the shops were all shut; no business was transacted. In College Green, a number of gentlemen, dressed in black, took the horses from his carriage, and drew it to the place of embarkation. It would be difficult to enumerate all the marks of affection, which the citizens of Dublin bestowed on that illustrious nobleman.

A new system was now adopted, and all ideas of concession being considered as incompatible with existing circumstances, the factious and disaffected took advantage of the popular discontents, to forward their own pernicious designs. In the beginning of the year 1791, was instituted that society, which soon became so notorious, under the title of United Irishmen. The association is said to have owed its origin to the famous Theobald Wolfe Tone. Its ostensible objects were parliamentary reform, and catholic emancipation; and

probably a very great number of members and adherents, never carried their views any farther, nor suspected the existence of any other design. Whatever might, at first, have been the views of the United Irishmen, it evidently appeared, that, afterwards, they were not confined to parliamentary reform, catholic emancipation, or indeed to any kind of constitutional relief, and that a plan was actually formed, of which the grand object was a total separation of Ireland from Great Britain, and its erection into a republic, under the protection of France. At that period a regular communication was opened between the Irish association, and the Directory of France. In the course of the next summer Lord Edward Fitzgerald went to Switzerland, and had an interview with General Hoche; in which, the whole plan of the invasion is supposed to have been adjusted. An attempt was made for its execution, by the well known expedition to Bantry bay. The armament, consisting of fifty sail of ships, with about 25,000 troops on board, was far from being contemptible. Had this force not been dispersed by storms, there was nothing to hinder their landing. In this case Ireland would probably for a long time have been the theatre of war.

Providence, without any human means, ordained the failure of this expedition; but the members of the Irish union, far from being discouraged, endeavoured more firmly to cement their alliance, and to establish a more regular correspondence with France. New arrangements were formed for an invasion to be attempted from Brest, and the Texel; but the memorable victory of admiral Duncan over the Dutch fleet, rendered this plan abortive. Various negotiations still continued to be carried on with so much secrecy and art, as to elude for some time the vigilance of the government in Ireland. But information having been received of a meeting, appointed to be held on a certain day at Belfast, an officer, with a detachment of soldiers, was despatched to the place. Two committees were found, actually sitting; and their papers being seized, the real views of the society were discovered. Among these were the printed declaration, and con-

stitution of the United Irishmen; a variety of reports from county committees, and other important documents, which left administration no longer in doubt of the extent of this formidable association, and of the views of its principal members. Active and vigorous measures were adopted by government to prevent the impending evils. Considerable additions were made to the military force of the kingdom; a bill prohibiting seditious assemblies was passed; the habeas corpus act was suspended; strict searches were made, and great quantities of concealed arms were discovered and seized. A meeting of delegates being convened at the house of Mr. Oliver Bond, fourteen of them were apprehended. Lord Edward Fitzgerald being discovered in his place of concealment, made a desperate defence, in which he was wounded so severely, that in a few days after he expired. The seizure of the delegates gave a fatal blow to the conspiracy. In the military committee, a general insurrection was resolved upon, and the 23d of March was fixed on for that purpose. Multitudes arose at the time appointed, in various parts of the country. After several partial victories and defeats, they were on the 21st of June, 1798, completely defeated and dispersed.

Earl Camden, the successor of Lord Fitzwilliam, governed Ireland with great prudence, during these commotions. By trebling the guards of the castle, and all the principal objects of attack, and, in fact, converting the whole city into a garrison, administration preserved Dublin from the calamity of civil war. The English government judged it expedient, at this crisis, to place over Ireland a military lord lieutenant, and the marquis Cornwallis was chosen to fill that important office. On his arrival at Dublin, he published on easy conditions, and with a few exceptions, his majesty's most gracious pardon to all offenders, who, before a certain day, should return to their duty. A special commission was opened in Dublin for the trial of the principal conspirators. Mr. Oliver Bond was convicted and condemned; but as the rebellion was totally crushed, and no further danger existed, he

received a pardon, and the government desisted from the prosecution of the other delinquents, on condition that they should fully disclose all the plans and proceedings of the society, and retire to some foreign country, not at war with Great Britain.

France neglected to support the Irish insurgents, till the opportunity was lost. Their whole concentrated force was broken and dispersed at Vinegar hill, on the 21st of June; and it was not till the 22d of August, that about one thousand French troops, a force very inadequate to the end proposed, disembarked in the bay of Killala, with a quantity of arms and ammunition. It was now too late for co-operation, the most active leaders were already in prison. Government was in possession of certain intelligence relative to all their plans, and their dispersed troops had, for the most part, accepted their pardon, and delivered up their arms. The number, therefore, that joined the invaders was inconsiderable. The French general Humbert, immediately advanced to Castlebar, and attacked general Lake, who was obliged to retreat. The French then proceeded towards Tuam; but the marquis Cornwallis coming up with them, they began to retreat, and the next morning, after a slight resistance, surrendered at discretion. Tranquillity was at length happily restored. Thus ended a conspiracy excited by revolutionary principles; which, without the possibility of procuring any benefit to the country, interrupted its manufactures, and deluged its plains with blood; and which, had it proved successful, must have been a lasting source of calamity.

Had the designs of the leaders of the conspiracy been crowned with success, nothing could have more decidedly militated against the happiness of Ireland. Nothing could be more absurd, than the object of the Irish patriots; nothing more hostile to the true interests of their country. The separation of Ireland from the British empire would have rendered her wholly dependant on France. In every subsequent contest, between that power and Great Britain, Ireland would have been drawn into the quarrel; made a passive tool in the

hand of France, and converted into a military station for her armies; while the British fleets would, at any time, have been able to block up her ports and annihilate her commerce.

The British government, sensible of the expediency of drawing still closer the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, has judged a complete union of the two kingdoms the most effectual means of preventing a repetition of these calamities, under which the latter has so severely suffered. How far it will prove a remedy for those evils, time must discover.

Ireland has seldom enjoyed that happiness, and rank among nations, to which, from her natural advantages, she was entitled. She has seldom or never been governed for her own benefit; the happiness of the people seemed, in every period of her history, to have been overlooked by her rulers. Oppression has often impelled her injured people to madness.*

* It was the misfortune of Ireland, when it was governed by a number of rival independent princes, to be visited by an ambitious, enterprising English prince, who contrived to make the devotion, with which nearly all Christian people then regarded the Papacy, subservient to his political views, so far as to obtain from Pope Adrian IV, an Englishman by birth, a grant of the kingdom of Ireland. The clergy acknowledged Henry's papal title; and many of the petty despots bent their necks to a yoke, which the papal power alone could impose on them. For the first four hundred years of their sway in that country, the English and Irish both professed the same religion.

The history of these four hundred years is an uninterrupted succession of ferocious aggression and frantic retaliation. In the whole course of this period, it never entered into the minds of the dominant party in Ireland, to conquer by clemency. An enumeration of the confiscating and proscribing laws, passed during those first four centuries, for the government, or rather misgovernment of Ireland, would scarcely at this time obtain belief.

In the reign of Edward I, Ireland was cantonised among ten English families, although one third of the country was not in the possession of the donor; and thus were the unfortunate natives given up at once to the rapacity of an aristocracy. The Irish petitioned to be governed by the English constitution; but their petition was rejected, and the consequence was, that in the reign of the second Edward, they made a most vigorous, but disastrous effort, to regain their independence. Murder and plunder

The measures adopted by them to obtain redress have seldom been wise. By mismanagement they have generally made a good cause a bad one. The diffusion of knowledge, the ex-

still went on. To strip the native of his property was considered by no means as unjust, and to shed his mere Irish blood, was not only safe, but lawful. Such was, generally speaking, the state of things, down to the reformation, when the exterminating faction changed its name into a Protestant ascendancy. They hoisted the banner of the cross, to sanctify their warfare. After suffering an exhausting struggle for five centuries against every species of oppression, and being thrice confiscated in one of them, Ireland, at length wearied with the contest, laid down her arms; not, however, to the discretion of a victor, but in honourable capitulation, by which the Irish had stipulated for the privileges of their religion and the constitution. This was no sooner made than it was violated.

On the 3d of October, 1691, the treaty of Limerick, guarantying to the Catholics of Ireland, their estates, privileges, and immunities, such as they enjoyed them in the reign of Charles II, was ratified by king William. In nineteen days after that solemn ratification, the English parliament passed the first of their penal statutes, by excluding Catholics from the Irish house of lords and commons. In four years after this first act of degradation, the Catholics were deprived of every means of educating their children, and were not allowed even to become their guardians. Their arms were next taken from them, and the priests were obliged to desist from the exercise of their functions, under pain of banishment. Such was the policy which an English whig parliament, a parliament that had so gloriously, and so successfully struggled for the rights of Englishmen, thought wise to adopt towards a people, whose sole crime was their creed.

The next of the penal statutes against the Catholics, was in 1704, under queen Anne, and it was then judged proper to attack their property, to add injury to insult, and poverty to degradation. The first step taken was to set the son against the father, by enacting, that any son of a Catholic who would turn Protestant, should succeed to the family estate; which, from the moment of the son's conversion, could not be sold, or charged even with a debt or legacy. At whatever age the child declared himself a Protestant, that instant he was taken from his parent's roof, and delivered to the custody of some Protestant. No tie, however tender, no claim, however dear, was respected by those patriotic legislators, who, more than any others, boasted of their love of freedom, while they thus violated the most sacred rights of nature. Intermarriages between Protestants and Catholics were then forbidden; and no Catholic was suffered to purchase land, or take a lease longer than thirty-one years. No Catholic could be

tension of equal civil and religious privileges to all the inhabitants, under a wise, just, and liberal government, administered for the good of the people, would render Ireland one of the happiest countries in the world.

heir-at-law to any estate; but it was to pass on to the next Protestant heir, as if the Catholic was dead. By this bill was also enacted, that clause which prevented Catholics from holding any office civil or military.

In 1709, the mild lawgivers of queen Anne enacted, that Catholics should not hold an annuity for life, and that the converted son of a Catholic father, by entering a certificate of his conversion in the court of Chancery, could compel the father to make a statement of his property, on oath, and to grant him (the son) an allowance at the son's discretion. The wife of a Catholic, on turning Protestant, was entitled to an increase of jointure. Catholic schoolmasters were ordered to be prosecuted as convicts, and a reward of thirty pounds per annum was held out to every priest, who, in the midst of this suffering, and this insult, would be base enough to desert his unfortunate flock. Rewards were also given by this act, to those who would inform against the Catholic clergy; fifty pounds for discovering a bishop; twenty pounds for a common clergyman, and ten pounds for a Catholic usher. Any two justices of the peace were empowered to enforce information from any Catholic, above eighteen years of age, under a penalty of a year's imprisonment for refusing to answer. Thus were the bonds of civil society disregarded—thus were let loose against the virtuous and the conscientious, every profligate ruffian who preferred idleness and perjury, to industry and honour! thus were the bad tempted to become the instruments of persecution. It was enacted in the same year, that no Protestant could hold property, in trust, for a Catholic, and Catholics were also excluded from grand juries; and in any trial where the protestant interest was concerned, a Catholic juror might be peremptorily challenged.

The house of Hanover succeeded to the throne, after the death of Anne; but the ministers of George I. were determined to persevere in her persecuting policy. In this reign a law was passed, empowering any Protestant to seize the horse of a Catholic, let it be worth what it might, and keep legal possession on payment of five pounds. Catholics were excluded from the offices of high and low constable. In Catholic towns they were obliged to provide Protestant watchmen, and it was again enacted, that Catholics should not vote at elections.

George II. followed in the same course of persecution. In his reign, whatever little remnant of liberty remained with the Catholics was torn from them. They were prohibited from becoming barristers; and if a Protestant barrister or solicitor married a Catholic, he was subjected to all

The religion of Ireland as established by law is that of the church of England; but according to general computation two thirds of the people are Catholics; and of the remaining third part, one half is supposed to consist of dissenters of various denominations. The subjection of so great a majority of the inhabitants to maintain the religion of so inconsiderable a part of the whole, is one of the many oppressions inflicted on the people of Ireland, which has fostered a spirit of discontent, and a disposition to resist the government which bears so unequally upon its subjects.

The ecclesiastical system of Ireland comprises four archiepiscopal, and eighteen episcopal sees. The annual revenues of these sees are from two to four thousand pounds, except Derry, which is said to be worth about seven thousand pounds. Those of the primacy are computed at about eight thousand pounds. The Catholics have a similar hierarchy; but their metropolitans, and suffragan bishops, are merely titular.

The government of Ireland, previous to the union, was constructed on the model of that of Great Britain, being composed of a house of peers, and another of commons; his majesty's person being represented by the lord lieutenant. At present the two, formerly separate kingdoms, being united, their government composes one identical system.

Ireland has always furnished a large proportion of men to the British armies; and has recently equipped a numerous militia and yeomanry. Her contributions of men to the navy are also considerable, but Ireland has never had any separate

penalties attached to Catholics. The priest who celebrated a marriage between a Catholic and Protestant might be hanged, and persons robbed by privateers, during a war with a Catholic prince, were indemnified by levies raised exclusively on the Catholics.

This detestable code continued in full operation until the 18th Geo. III, when the circumstances of the world, a more universally enlightened mind, and the fears of England, concurred to produce its gradual relaxation. Ireland, inflamed by the eloquence of Mr. Grattan, and supported by eighty thousand armed citizens, claimed and obtained an independent legislature. England yielded reluctantly. From this period the march of the Irish mind has been progressive and menacing.

naval establishment, and neither her army or navy can be considered as distinct from those of Great Britain.

The revenues of Ireland have been computed at about one million pounds sterling

In a country, so neglected as Ireland has been for many centuries, we cannot expect, that either trade or manufactures should have long flourished. It had indeed some manufactures of woollen as early as the days of Edward III, and also of linen about the middle of the fifteenth century. But its manufactures may, in general, be considered as of a recent date. The Irish had begun to make a considerable progress in that of wool, about the year 1699, when the British legislature judged it expedient to discourage it by high duties, to direct their industry to the linen trade, and enrich Ireland, without any detriment to the woollen manufactures of England. Since that period, the linen manufacture has become a source of wealth to the country, and its annual produce is computed at about two million pounds sterling. A very considerable portion of the commerce of Ireland, arises from the abundance of cattle, the moisture of the climate being so exceedingly favourable to pasturage. In 1780, Mr. Young calculated the imports of Ireland at one million two hundred twenty thousand six hundred and seventy seven pounds, and the exports at about three million five hundred thousand pounds.

The same arts and sciences which flourish in England, and other European countries, have also their votaries in Ireland. The name of Kirwan stands high in the department of mineralogy; and the natives of Ireland have distinguished themselves in various other walks of science, particularly as classical scholars, fine writers, and eloquent orators.

Ireland being the last retreat of the Celts, its ancient language is probably one of the purest dialects of the Celtic, which is also, with some variation, spoken by the Welsh and the Highlanders. It is, however, considerably intermixed with words imported by the Belgæ, and the Scandinavians. The

English daily gains ground, and, in all probability, the Irish will, at no very distant period, become a dead language.

In no part of the British dominions has education been more neglected than in Ireland. The benefits arising from the Protestant working schools have been mentioned by a variety of writers. That these institutions have had a good effect cannot indeed be controverted, but their number is far too small and the plan in every respect too contracted. To answer the beneficial purpose of instructing the great mass of the people, and improving their morals, a complete system of parochial education, on a liberal plan, without any preference to sects and denominations, would be necessary in Ireland, where the poverty of the lower class of the peasantry totally excludes them from the benefit of instruction. This would be the most effectual means of extinguishing party spirit, and civilizing the great bulk of the populace.

The only university in Ireland is that of Dublin, denominated Trinity college. The number of students in it is generally about four hundred. It has an excellent library; a great part of the books being collected by archbishop Usher, who was one of the members of this institution, and whose name is one of its principal ornaments, but it has also produced many others, whose genius and learning have rendered them illustrious in the republic of letters. At Dublin is a society for the improvement of agriculture instituted in 1731, by the patriotic Dr. Samuel Madder. This is one of the earliest institutions of the kind in Europe.

The population of Ireland by the census of 1781, is stated at three millions, and by others swelled to four millions.

The character of the modern Irish has also been exhibited to great disadvantage by many English writers. But the judicious observer will readily perceive, that they are neither much better, nor much worse than their neighbours. Such shades of difference, as may really exist, are rather circumstantial than characteristic.

In taking a view of the manners and customs of Ireland, its inhabitants must be considered as two distinct classes,

forming two grand divisions. The manners of the superior orders nearly approach to the English standard, and they live in the same style of elegance, although it is said, by some, that excess in wine is more fashionable than in England. The Irish gentry are less addicted to literary, and scientific amusements, than to hunting, and other robust exercises; but they are remarkable for their hospitality. The nobility and gentry of Ireland are, in general, the descendants of the English families of distinction, who settled in the country at the time of its conquest in the reign of Henry II, or at various subsequent periods. The generality of the principal traders and manufacturers are the posterity of English and Scotch colonies. These chiefly inhabit the northern and eastern coasts, where the greatest part of the trade is carried on; and the country is, there, the best cultivated, and the most flourishing. The people of Ireland may, therefore, in regard to their origin as well as their manners, be considered as three distinct nations. The first is composed of the descendants of the English, who inhabit Dublin, Waterford, and Cork. The second, consists of the offspring of the Scotish emigrants established in the northern districts, especially Belfast, Londonderry, and other parts of the province of Ulster. These places are the principal seats of the linen manufactures, and next to the neighbourhood of Dublin constitute the most flourishing part of the island. The third division is the posterity of the ancient Irish, poor, ignorant, and depressed, who barely exist in the interior, and western provinces. The two last classes are almost equally attached to their ancient customs, so that Ireland presents a three-fold picture of national manners, marked with strong lines of distinction.

The descendants of the original Irish, together with their ancient language, retain many features of their primitive manners with the superstitious belief of fairies, &c. A funeral is commonly attended by all the people in the neighbourhood, and is accompanied with hideous howlings, and other idle ceremonies.

The various avenues to comfortable competence, which in

flourishing countries present themselves on all sides to ingenuity and talents, are shut against the common people of Ireland, from their general poverty and want of manufactures. Almost every person is therefore under the necessity of seeking land to cultivate, and the farms being generally let to the best bidder, the rents are exorbitantly high. This advancement of rents, with the ruinous system of underletting, which is sometimes extended to a fourth, or even to a fifth tenant, leaves so very little profit to the actual cultivator, that, in order to pay his exorbitant rent, he is obliged to subsist on the bare necessaries of life without the enjoyment of any of its conveniences. The absurd system of middle men renting farms of the landlord; and letting them in lots to under-tenants, who again parcel them out in smaller subdivisions, till they pass through four or five hands, before they come to the real occupier, is one of the greatest abuses that can exist in the management of landed property, being equally prejudicial to the proprietors, and to the cultivator, and presenting a perpetual obstacle to agricultural improvement.

From this desultory view of the condition of the lower classes of the peasantry, the cause of that proneness to rebellion, which has ever characterised the Irish may be readily discovered. Extreme wretchedness and profound ignorance in conjunction with a daring spirit and a strong, though uncultivated, intellect, render them the ready instruments of any change that factious leaders may meditate. In the Scotish islands the same causes, cannot produce the same tremendous effects; among a thin population, divided, by tempestuous seas, into many separate portions, as in Ireland, where a numerous people possessing the means of ready communication is a dreadful engine in the hand of seditious and unprincipled demagogues. The causes of the evil, point out their remedies. Ignorance and indigence require instruction and amelioration of condition; and in a country, like Ireland, sufficiently endowed with the riches of nature, both these desirable ends are attainable. Parochial schools, on a liberal plan, without any regard to religious distinctions, would en-

lighten the minds of the natives and bring them, in time, to adopt a right political creed. A more judicious plan of agricultural economy, with the introduction of trade and manufactures, would relieve their indigence. New prospects would be opened to industry. A variety of resources, holding out to their view a greater proportion of the comforts of life, would direct their attention to various employments. By these means, the rent of land, and the price of labour would find their proportionate level. The people, contented and happy, would learn to appreciate the blessings of civil and religious liberty, and be no longer the dupes of seditious leaders, as they could expect no benefit from innovation. Mr. Carr, a recent and observing traveller, explodes the prejudices that have so long been entertained against the Catholic clergy; whom, with some exceptions, he describes as a respectable order of men. He also adduces many arguments to prove, that it would be the best policy to provide means for the instruction of the lower classes of the people, without any view to proselytism.*

The native Irish, although ignorant and uncivilized, show every mark of a strong untutored intellect. They are impatient of injury, or abuse, and violent in all their affections. The goodness of their disposition is evinced by their general hospitality, and courteous behaviour to strangers. Quick of apprehension, and patient of hardship, they are qualified by nature for every kind of bodily or mental exertion. Whenever they are accidentally drawn from their native barbarism and obscurity, no people make a better figure in the different situations and employments of life.

In Ireland, where the rainy climate seems unfavourable to the human frame, the people, although so extremely ill fed, as scarcely ever to enjoy what an Englishman would call a comfortable meal, are remarkably strong, well sized, robust, and handsome, and possess all the mental as well as corporeal powers and faculties in as eminent a degree as those of

* Carr's Tour in Ireland, 511, &c. 514, &c.

any country. It is a well known observation, that Ireland produces the stoutest men, and the finest women, in Europe. These circumstances, collectively taken, form a curious article in the natural history of the human species, well deserving the attention of the philosopher.

The British isles, whose history has been rapidly surveyed, are remotely or immediately, the natal soil of the great bulk of the population of the United States. After reviewing the calamitous times, which their inhabitants have experienced, the repeated devastations of their cities and country settlements; and the torrents of blood with which they have been deluged; the citizens of the United States cannot but rejoice, that they were born in happier times. They must also appreciate their present political happiness; while they compare their light inconveniences with the distressing scenes through which their forefathers have passed, and with those which many of the poor in the British empire now suffer.

SPAIN.

TOPOGRAPHICAL HISTORY.

SPAIN extends from the 36th to the 44th degree of north latitude. Its greatest length is about 600 miles from west to east; and its greatest breadth from north to south about 500; comprising an area of about 148,400 square miles. Spain has a great extent of coast, being every where surrounded by the sea, except the space which Portugal occupies on the west, between its frontiers and the Atlantic, and the side where the Pyrenees, on the north, separate it from France.

The face of the country is greatly diversified with hills and dales, extensive plains, and elevated mountains. The latter are arranged by nature in distinct chains, which generally run in a direction nearly parallel, extending from the northeast to the southwest, through the greatest part of the kingdom.

The chief rivers of Spain are the Tagus or Tajo, the Guadiana, the Douro, the Guadalquiver, and the Ebro.

Spain has, of late, made some noble attempts at inland navigation. But this plan of national improvement has been suffered to languish, through the want of resources. One of the Spanish canals is conducted over a valley, by an aqueduct bridge, 1420 yards in length.

This country and Lusitania, the modern Portugal, contained the richest gold and silver mines within the limits of the Roman empire. The Spanish silver was reckoned the best any where produced; and a mine near Carthegena yielded, annually, about 300,000 lbs. weight of that metal. The mines of Asturia, Gallicia, and Lusitania, also produced, every year, 20,000 lbs. weight of gold.* These mines, however, appear

* Pliny's Hist. Nat. lib. 33. cap. 3.

to be now exhausted, or else neglected, for those of America, which are undoubtedly far more opulent. Lead is common in many parts of the country. Tin is found in Gallicia; and copper on the frontiers of Portugal. At Almader, in La Mancha, are valuable mines of quicksilver, of which the greatest part is exported to America, where it is used in refining the gold and silver. In the district of Villa, are veins of coal, as also of gold, silver, lead, and copper. Spain also has iron in abundance, and of the first quality.

The soil of Spain displays all the variety, that so extensive and mountainous a country must be supposed to afford, from the barren summits of the Sierra Nevada, covered with perpetual snow, to the fertile plains of Andalusia, Grenada, and Murcia. In general, however, it is light, and rests on a substratum of gypsum or plaister of Paris, a material which supplies an excellent manure. Spain contains extensive tracts of mountainous and rocky country, with a barren soil, and may be said to exhibit numerous contrasts of extreme barrenness, with exuberant fertility.

The climate of Spain is as various as its soil. Several of the mountainous parts are extremely cold. In New, and still more in Old Castile, the winters are sharp and stormy; although the summers are, in general, very warm. In the southern provinces, the heat is frequently excessive, and the air insalubrious. The solano, or south wind from Africa, produces the most inflammatory and irritating effects. The climate, however, in some parts of the kingdom, is celebrated as equal, if not superior, to that of any other part of Europe.

The variety of soil and climate, produces also a variety of vegetation. Fragrant pasturage, vineyards, and groves of orange trees, are, in different situations, seen in perfection. Spain, almost every where produces excellent wine and fruits; as well as a considerable quantity of oil. Corn of every kind is also good. In Catalonia, the country is in a high state of cultivation. The regular course of husbandry in that district begins with wheat, which, being generally reaped in June, is immediately succeeded by Indian corn, millet, hemp, cab-

bage, or lettuce. The general mode of ploughing in Spain is with oxen, yoked by the horns. Spanish agriculture, although of late in many places greatly improved, is in general, even at present, in a very imperfect state. Spain has several forests of considerable extent. Some of these are owing to the want of cultivation; others are royal forests, preserved for the pleasures of the chase. Several of them are infested with smugglers and banditti, a circumstance which renders travelling in some parts dangerous. The more common woodlands are mostly calcareous; and the trees are chiefly ilex or evergreen oak, which produces abundant crops of sweet acorns, a fruit found exceedingly useful, not only for the fattening of hogs, but also for the nourishment of the poorer sort of the peasantry.

The Spanish horses have been famed in all ages. Their size is not large, but they are beautiful and extremely spirited. The Romans used to prefer the horses of Spain and of Cappadocia, before all others, for mounting their cavalry. The Spanish ass is a noble animal, although not equal to that of Arabia. The mules are also excellent, and greatly used in travelling, being peculiarly adapted to a mountainous country. The horned cattle are in general somewhat small. But the Spanish sheep, as connected with national circumstances, and giving rise to a peculiar system of national husbandry, is one of the most curious and important subjects in the whole range of zoology. A code of laws, called the Maesta, consisting of a grant of partial and impolitic privileges, is instituted for regulating this branch of Spanish husbandry. The great proprietors of flocks have, by this law, a right to drive them from the northern provinces, quite through the interior of Spain, into Estramadura and Andalusia, for winter pasture. On their way, these flocks have the free use of all the commons and uninclosed grounds, which, in Spain, are more numerous and extensive than in any other country of Europe. In the two tracts through which the sheep pass, no inclosures can be made, without leaving a space of ninety yards wide for their accommodation. They have the use of all the olive

grounds; and in the most cultivated districts, their pasturage is fixed at a low price. The shepherds have also certain privileges of wood-cutting. Not less than 5,000,000 of sheep with about 25,000 shepherds, as many dogs, and a considerable number of horses, twice every year, during the space of forty days, ravage the finest provinces of Spain. All those parts of the kingdom, that are subject to the Maesta, present a picture of desolation. These annual migrations of the Spanish flocks, seem to be a relic of the pastoral times, which an impolitic government has rendered perpetual.

Spain abounds with natural curiosities, which have been little illustrated. Many such are collected in the royal cabinet of natural history at Madrid. The rock of Gibraltar, one of the pillars of Hercules, celebrated by the ancient writers, is a curious production of nature. It is calcareous, and almost perpendicular. Its summit commands, in clear weather, a grand and extensive prospect, comprising the town and bay of Gibraltar, the towns of St. Roque and Algesiras, in Spain, the adjacent straits, mount Abyla, the other column of Hercules on the African side, with the cities of Tangier and Ceuta, and a large extent of the coast of Barbary.

The remains of antiquity in Spain are numerous and magnificent, but of different kinds, corresponding with the various periods of its history. Of the Carthaginian domination, few relics exist; but Roman monuments are very numerous. The chief of these, is the superb aqueduct of Sevogia, consisting of one hundred and fifty-nine arches, and extending about seven hundred and forty yards, its height being not less than ninety-four feet, where it crosses the middle of the valley. Tarragona, Toledo, and Maviedo, the ancient Saguntum, destroyed by Hannibal, contain various remains of Roman antiquity. The monuments of Moorish magnificence are numerous and splendid. Among these, are the mosque at Cordova, the columns of which are computed at eight hundred. The sumptuous palace of Zebra, three miles from Cordova, erected A.D. 950, at the amazing expense of two million five hundred thousand pounds sterling. The Alham-

bra, at Grenada, finished in 1336, affords, to this day, an unequivocal proof of the wealth and magnificence of the Moorish kings.

Madrid is situated on the banks of the Manzanares, in forty degrees twenty-five minutes north latitude, and nearly in the centre of Spain. It stands in a spacious plain, destitute of fertility. The city is handsome; the houses are of brick; all the streets are well paved, and have broad footways for passengers. Here is the royal museum, one of the noblest in Europe. Madrid has, but lately, been changed from a dirty village, to a splendid capital; but the middle of the town shows an ancient origin, the streets being narrow and irregular. At Madrid are the royal manufactures of china, saltpetre, &c.; but the city has little trade, except what arises from the residence of the court, and the confluence of the grandees, whose rents are expended in the capital. Situated on a small brook, in a barren soil, where manufactures cannot flourish, but by means of extraordinary encouragements. Madrid is great, only, by the wealth which flows in from the country estates of the nobles. In it there is a considerable scarcity of amusements. The stage is very poor; bad pieces are performed by bad actors.* The Spanish capital, indeed, appears a very dull place, except at the time of the promenade in the Prado, or in the morning, at some part of the town, when mass is to be celebrated with great solemnity. The Prado is the grand promenade, where, in the morning, persons of high rank are seen, both on horseback and on foot. But, after the siesta, or afternoon repose, it is filled with splendid equipages, which perform, every day, the same dull round; following each other, during an hour or two, up one mall and down another, in slow and tedious procession. Feasts, and private entertainments, are not in fashion at Madrid. The Spaniards seldom invite company to dinner, and scarcely ever to supper, but only to tea. The population of Madrid has been estimated at one hundred and forty-seven thousand five hundred and forty-three. Its climate is agree-

* Link's Trav. p, 99.

able. The air is pure and serene, and the quantity of rain that falls is very small, as the frontier mountains of Castile arrest the progress of the clouds. But in summer, the heat is excessive, and in winter the cold is intense, beyond what could be supposed in so southerly a latitude. The winds are uncommonly piercing; a circumstance arising from the great elevation of the plain, and the chains of mountains by which it is terminated. This inconvenience is also increased by the scarcity of fuel. Scarcely any fire, except a pan of charcoal, is seen in the houses, even of persons of condition.

The escurial, at the distance of about twenty-two miles northwest of Madrid, is the glory and boast of Spain. This superb palace is situated on the lower declivity of the mountains of Guadarama, in an open and elevated country, presenting a gradual descent all the way to Madrid. The escurial, an immense pile of building, comprising a palace, a church, and a monastery, was erected by Philip II, in commemoration of the victory of St. Zuentin, gained over the French, in A. D. 1557. The sums expended in the construction of this royal residence are almost incredible. In the variety and richness of its ornaments, it may vie with any palace in Europe. This palace is the residence of the royal family, from September to December.

Next in importance to Madrid, are the principal seaports, which flourish by commerce; while the cities of the interior decline from the want of agriculture, manufactures, and inland navigation.

Of the ports, Cadiz is generally regarded as the principal; because there, the American commerce for a long time wholly centered. It is seated on an island in the bay, and by means of a bridge communicates with the continent. Its trade is extensive. Its population is estimated at seventy thousand.

Barcelona may be ranked as the second port of Spain, and in regard to its population, which is estimated at one hundred thousand, it is the next city to Madrid. The inhabitants are remarkable for their industry; and have flourishing manufac-

tures of silk, cotton, and wool, as well as of excellent fire-arms and cutlery. In times of peace, it is computed on an average, that one thousand vessels, annually, enter this port. The exports are chiefly wine, brandy, and leather; the imports, corn, fish, and woollen goods. Here is an hospicio or general workhouse, where about one thousand four hundred industrious poor are maintained. The situation of this city, in a plain, open to the southeast, and sheltered by hills on the north and west, is pleasant and salubrious; but the east wind often brings fogs, and produces a great irritability in the nervous system.

Malaga is also a considerable port, being celebrated for its excellent wines, especially the rich Malaga or mountain, and the Tinto or tent. The inhabitants are computed at forty thousand.

Among the smaller ports, Carthagena contains a population of about twenty-three thousand. To these might also be added, Ferrol and Corunna. Carthagena, Ferrol, and Cadiz, are the principal stations of the royal navy.

Of the principal cities of Spain, Seville is regarded as the chief; and even as the metropolis of the whole kingdom. Madrid being, like Petersburg, dignified with the name of the residence. Until the year 1720, Seville was the great emporium of the American trade. Like Venice, Genoa, and Antwerp, it displays great opulence, in consequence of its former commerce, and is still one of the most magnificent cities of Spain. The cathedral is a vast Gothic structure; the steeple, which is higher than St. Paul's at London, consists of three towers, one above another, and is reckoned one of the greatest curiosities in Spain. From the top of the steeple, the prospect of the surrounding country is exceedingly beautiful. Seville was formerly celebrated for its numerous manufactures of silk and wool, which are now declined almost to nothing. The present population is generally estimated at about eighty thousand.

Grenada, the next great city in the south of Spain, stands on two hills, in the middle of a plain, terminated on the south

by the Sierra Nevada, or snowy mountains, so called, from being capped with perpetual snow. This capital of the last Moorish kingdom in Spain, was exceedingly rich and magnificent. The splendour of Grenada is now greatly declined. The present population is computed at about eighty thousand. There are several fine public walks, and the environs are delightful.

Valencia is a large city with lofty walls, and extensive suburbs, rich churches, and a numerous clergy. It was formerly celebrated for its manufactures, which, like those of many other cities of Spain, are greatly declined. This city is situated on the river Guadalavir, in a pleasant and fertile plain, and is supposed to contain eighty thousand inhabitants.

Toledo was formerly considerable for its population, trade, and numerous manufactures. It once held even the rank of metropolis, and was the royal residence. Charles V built here a magnificent palace. No city in Spain has suffered a greater decline; and its population, which was formerly estimated at two hundred thousand, is now diminished to sixteen thousand. Besides the causes which have concurred to ruin the trade and manufactures of Spain, the removal of the court and the grandees to Madrid, has greatly contributed to the decay of Toledo, which would have been almost deserted had not its rich cathedral and clergy, a great part of whose revenues are spent here, contributed to preserve some commerce among the remaining inhabitants. The archbishopric is indeed the richest in Europe, having an annual revenue of about ninety thousand pounds sterling. The cathedral is one of the principal religious structures of Spain. Its steeple being of a great height, as well as in an elevated situation, commands a very extensive prospect. The city contains about thirty-eight convents. There are also numerous churches; so that the clergy make up a very great proportion of the inhabitants. Here is also a celebrated university.

Sarragossa, the chief city of Arragon, is remarkable for its rich churches and convents, as well as for its university,

which contains about two thousand students. At present Sarragossa is almost destitute of trade and manufactures. The population, however, is computed at about thirty-six thousand.

Valladolid was, at one period, the residence of the court. It is yet a large and beautiful city, but of small population, being supposed to contain, not more than nineteen thousand inhabitants.

Salamanca is also a large and handsome city, but the population is computed at only about thirteen thousand. Its university has long been celebrated.

Oviedo and Leon are inconsiderable; but can boast of their ancient fame, as being, successively, the primitive capitals of the Spanish monarchy, when the Moors possessed the rest of the kingdom.

The palaces of Aranjuez and St. Ildefonso are the favourite residences of the court. The former is elegant rather than magnificent; but its gardens and park, watered by the Tagus, are celebrated for the just and natural taste in which they are laid out. The royal family spend here part of the winter and spring. St. Ildefonso being seated on the northern declivity of a high range of mountains, is a delightful summer's residence, and the royal family generally remain here, from May till September. This palace was built by Philip V, in the taste of Versailles. It is fitted up at an extraordinary expense, and decorated with fine statues, busts and basso relievos, as well as with excellent paintings. The gardens are all in the formal French style; but embellished with a number of fine statues, fountains, and water-works.

The principal islands, adjacent to Spain, are Majorca and Minorca. Majorca is about fifty-eight English miles in length, by forty-five of breadth. The northwest part is hilly; but the rest of the island abounds with cultivated lands and vineyards; and it produces excellent honey. The air is temperate. The capital town is seated on a fine bay, and contains about ten thousand inhabitants. Majorca once formed a separate

kingdom, governed by a prince of the house of Arragon. The famous Raymond de Lully was a native of this island.

Minorca is about thirty miles in length, and twelve in medial breadth. The climate is moist, and the soil rather barren; but it produces excellent wine. Citadella is the chief town; but the population is inconsiderable. Port Mahon, on the southeast, which is said to derive its name from Mago the Carthaginian general, has an excellent harbour. This island has often been seized by the English, to which it presents an advantageous station for the Mediterranean trade.

GENERAL HISTORY.

The first pupulation of Spain was probably from different countries situated to the north and the south, consisting of Celts from Gaul, and of Moors or Mauritani from Africa. To these must be added large colonies of Carthaginians, who, at an early period, had settled on the eastern coast. These appear to have been the civilized inhabitants. The first authentic information relative to this country is derived from the Roman historians of the Punic wars, of which it was one of the principal theatres. In the commencement of that celebrated contest the Carthaginians were the ruling people in Spain. On the extinction of their power, the Romans became masters of the Carthaginian dominions; the whole Spanish continent was gradually reduced to a Roman province, and esteemed one of the most important and valuable of the whole empire. On the subversion of the Roman power by the northern barbarians, Spain experienced the same fortune as the rest of the provinces; and neither her remote situation, nor the natural rampart of the Pyrenees, could preserve her from the irruptions of those roving adventurers. In the fifth century, the Vandals conquered the country; but being afterwards weakened by their colonies in Africa, they were subdued by the Visigoths, who founded the modern kingdom of Spain, and from whom the most ancient and noble families pretend to derive their origin.

The era from which the modern kingdom dates its commencement is fixed about the year 472, when Euric, a prince of the Visigoths, made a conquest of all the country, except Gallicia. That province was retained by the Suevi, a German tribe, which had entered with the Vandals. The history of the Visigoths of Spain contains little that is interesting; all its scenes are disfigured by bigotry and stained with blood; and all its pages are filled with accounts of revolutions and crimes. The Visigoths were Arians, and bloody persecutors of the Catholics. Leovigild, who conquered the Suevi of Gallicia, and died in 585, put to death his son Hermenegild for having embraced the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity. Recared, his other son and successor, having abjured Arianism, established the Catholic faith throughout his dominions. The Catholics imbibed the spirit of persecution; and the Arians, in their turn, experienced its dire effects. The Jews were also compelled to receive baptism under the penalty of death; and it was made a standing law, that no prince should ascend the throne of the Visigoths, without binding himself, by an oath, to enforce all the penalties enacted against that unfortunate people. About the commencement of the seventh century, the empire of the Visigoths was in its zenith, comprising all Spain, with part of the neighbouring countries of Gaul and Mauritania; but their crown was elective rather than hereditary. From the time that the Visigoths entered Spain, the prelates and nobles appear to have had the sole power of electing their sovereigns. At length this privilege was confined to the bishops and palatines or principal officers of the crown. The clergy were all powerful; they were the judges, and for the most part, the legislators of the kingdom; and almost all causes, civil as well as ecclesiastical, were referred to the decision of the bishops.

The invasion of the Arabs or Moors, from Africa, is one of the greatest and most interesting events of Spanish history. This memorable transaction, which took place A. D. 710, was occasioned by the revenge of count Julian, whose daughter, Roderic, the reigning king, had dishonoured. This

nobleman went over into Africa, and solicited Mousa, the viceroy of Welid, caliph of Bagdad, to undertake the conquest of Spain. Tarik, one of the lieutenants of Mousa, viceroy of Africa, accordingly made a descent with a formidable force; and the decisive battle of Xeres, in Andalusia, terminated the empire of the Visigoths. Mousa, himself, soon after arrived, in order to complete the conquest; and, according to the prudent policy of the Mahometan caliphs, he granted to the people the enjoyment of their religion and laws, on the easy condition of tributary taxation; while he communicated all the privileges of the conquerors to those who embraced their faith. Most of the cities submitted without resistance; a few were reduced by force. Oppas, archbishop of Seville, and uncle to the children of Witiza, whom Roderic had dethroned, sacrificing to his resentment the interests of religion as well as those of his country, joined the Saracens; and his example was followed by a numerous party. Some, however, remained true to their religion and their country. Pelagius, a courageous and valiant Visigoth of royal, or at least of noble descent, retired with a few brave and faithful adherents to the mountains of Asturias. In that rugged district, which nature had fortified with innumerable bulwarks, he founded a small, but independent kingdom; the last refuge of patriotism, and the cradle of the present Spanish monarchy.

During the space of forty years, Spain was greatly oppressed under the dominion of the Arabs. The governors, sent by the viceroys of Africa, impoverished the people by their extortions. Several of them also erected the standard of rebellion, and the country presented a scene of oppression and anarchy; while the successors of Mahomet, who then resided at Damascus, could pay little attention to the affairs of so distant a province as Spain. The revolution, which happened in the empire of the Saracens, A. D. 750, when the august dignity of caliph passed from the family of the Ommiades to that of the Abassides, gave birth to another, of a nature singularly interesting, in a view of Spain, and of Eu-

rope. Almanzor, or Abdurrahman, a prince of the royal race of the Ommiades, who had escaped from the massacre of his family, founded in Spain an independent kingdom, consisting of all the provinces which had been subject to the caliphs. Under his prudent administration, the empire of the Arabs in Spain, attained to the zenith of its power and splendour. It comprised Portugal, and all the south of Spain, as far as the mountains of Castile and Saragosso, more than three-fourths of the whole peninsula; and included the most fertile provinces. The royal residence was fixed at Cordova, which Almanzor made the seat of magnificence, and of the arts. The first successors of Mahomet were enemies to literature and science, and the fanatics who followed their standards were ignorant barbarians; but the later caliphs encouraged what their predecessors despised; and, under their patronage, the Arabs cultivated several branches of knowledge with great success. At a time, when all the rest of Europe was plunged in the grossest ignorance, the empire of the Arabs, in Spain, flourished in science and literature, in commerce and industry.* The provinces were well cultivated, the cities adorned with magnificent structures; painting and sculpture, alone, being condemned by the Koran, were excluded from the monuments of Arabian magnificence. Abdurrahman was the author of this great revolution in Spain; and the impulse which he gave, long retained its force. This prince was the most powerful of all the Arabian monarchs of Spain. Letters and sciences long flourished among them, notwithstanding their frequent wars and political revolutions; and Europe derived from them many valuable discoveries. It is universally agreed, that to the Arabs, and most probably to those of Spain, Europe owes the introduction of the ciphers or characters now used in arithmetic. This, by facilitating and expediting all kinds of arithmetical calculations, rendered the art of arithmetic as practised among the moderns, greatly superior to that of the Greeks and the Romans;

* Profess. Ockley. Hist. Sarac. vol. 2

the operations of which were performed by the letters of the alphabet. The tenth century is considered as the period in which the Arabian ciphers began to be generally used in Europe.

The death of Abdurrahman was followed by dissentions among his children; which proved a favourable circumstance to the Spanish Christians. The little kingdom of Asturias, founded by Pelagius, began to extend its boundaries, and acquired the name of Leon. Other Christian kingdoms were gradually formed by Spanish chieftains, and about the commencement of the eleventh century, Navarre, Castile, and Arragon, had their respective kings. Among the Arabs or Moors, the posterity of Abdurrahman continued to sway the sceptre till the year 1038. These Moorish princes displayed great power and splendor; and, under their administration, the Spanish caliphate was the seat of literature, science, and commerce.

Before the commencement of the eleventh century, the Spanish caliphate began to exhibit symptoms of its approaching dissolution. The factious nobles and governors of provinces openly aimed at independency; and the Arabian empire, in Spain, as well as in other countries, soon presented a picture, similar to that of France and Germany, on the extinction of the Carlovingian dynasty. About the year 1038, the race of Abdurrahman being extinct, the Spanish caliphate expired. That splendid monarchy being dismembered, a number of petty kingdoms were formed out of its ruins. Cordova, Toledo, Seville, Grenada, Valencia, Saragossa, and almost all the principal cities, became capitals of independent monarchies. While kingdoms were thus multiplied among both the Christians and Mahometans of Spain, it is easier to imagine than describe the condition of a country, so circumstanced. Its history, during these tumultuous times, is only a confused chaos; exhibiting nothing but mutual animosities and jealousies, among a number of petty rival princes, actuated by ambition, and possessing little power. The two great parties of Christians and Mahometans were perpetu-

ally at variance; while both had their civil wars among themselves. During the space of 200 years, the history of Spain presents a continued series of wars, stratagems, treasons and assassinations. Amidst all these disadvantages, the Moors possessing the most fertile parts of the country, and the finest maritime provinces, long carried on a flourishing commerce; and cultivated the useful and elegant arts. Many of the Spanish cities, even at this day, exhibit noble remains of Moorish magnificence.

The Christians, notwithstanding their intestine dissensions, pushed on their attacks against the Mahometans with all the ardor that religion, patriotism, and resentment could inspire. They conducted their operations with that daring resolution natural to men, who had no other occupation than war, and who had nothing to lose. The quarrel was transmitted from generation to generation in hereditary descent; and, by perseverance, the Spanish Christians continually gained ground on their adversaries. As they made these conquests from the Mahometans at various periods, and under different leaders; each adventurous and successful chief formed into an independent state the territories, which he had wrested from the common enemy. Both Christian and Moorish Spain contained as many kingdoms as provinces; and in almost every city of note, a petty monarch established his throne, and displayed the ensigns of royalty. In proportion as the Mahometans lost ground, the Christian states were multiplied. Some of these, indeed, were so insignificant, as scarcely to be noticed in history; but in process of time, by the usual events of intermarriages or conquest, all those inferior principalities, were at length swallowed up in the more powerful kingdoms of Arragon and Castile. About the middle of the thirteenth century, Christian Spain began to make a conspicuous figure among the nations of Europe. Alphonzo, the wise king of Castile, whose reign began about A. D. 1252, made great and successful efforts to raise his subjects from that state of barbarism, in which they were immersed.

During the long period of two centuries, previous to his accession, Spain had exhibited a scene of bloody confusion, which was never exceeded in any part of the world. Besides near twenty kings, there were also many independent lords; who, not being sufficiently powerful to support themselves in the station of sovereigns, came mounted on horseback, completely armed, attended by a number of squires; and, in the true style of military adventure, offered their services to the princes engaged in war. The kings and chieftains who engaged these lords, girded them with a belt, and presented them with a sword, with which they gave them a slight blow on the shoulder.* These military adventurers roaming about the kingdom, and fighting for those who were willing to employ them, became distinguished by the name of knights-errant: such was the origin of an order of men, whose romantic exploits have been celebrated by the historians and poets of Spain, and justly ridiculed by Cervantes. Of all these knights Don Rodrigo, surnamed the Cid, distinguished himself the most eminently against the Mahometans. So great was his fame, that several other knights ranged themselves under his banner, and with their squires and horsemen composed an army, completely covered with iron, and mounted on the best and most beautiful horses of the country. With this force, he defeated several Moorish kings; and bore a conspicuous part in the siege of Toledo, to which his reputation attracted knights and princes from France and Italy. After a siege of twelve months, in which many bloody conflicts took place, Toledo surrendered to the Christians by capitulation. A. D. 1085. The articles of this capitulation secured to the Moors the protection of their persons and property, their religion and laws. In the same year, the Cid took possession of all Castile in the name of king Alphonso his master, and Madrid the present capital of Spain, but then no better than a village, fell into the hands of the Christians. He, afterwards, conquered the kingdom of Valencia; but though he exceeded most of the Spanish kings in power, and

* Russel's Hist. Mod. Europe. vol. 1. Lett. 34. p. 386.

all of them in fame, he continued faithful to his sovereign Alphonso, and never assumed the regal title.

Had either the Moors or the Christians combined their forces, such a union would have rendered either party greatly an overmatch for the other. But both were harrassed by civil wars and dissentions, which retarded their operations, and protracted the contest. In the year 1212, the Spanish affairs put on a more serious aspect. The Moors having called in to their assistance Mahomet Ben Joseph, the most powerful of the African princes, that monarch passed over into Europe with an army of one hundred thousand men. Being joined by the Moors of Spain, he assured himself of the conquest of the whole country. In this critical emergency, the Spanish kings, impelled by the common danger, united their forces, and the attention of all Europe being excited by this vast African armament, numbers of military adventurers poured in from all quarters. A decisive engagement took place, in the province of Toledo; Alphonsus, king of Castile, commanded the Christian army, attended by the archbishop of Toledo, who carried the cross. The African monarch carrying in one hand his sabre, and in the other the Koran, commanded the Moors. The battle was long and obstinate; but the Christians, at length, gained a complete victory; but it was not improved nor were its consequences important. The Moors, at the same time, being harrassed by civil dissensions, were unable to repair their loss, by taking advantage of the negligence of their enemies. All the Moorish states, both in Spain and Africa, were rent in pieces by intestine commotions; the banners of rebellion were constantly displayed; and new sovereigns sprang up in continual succession. The affairs of the Mahometans now began rapidly to decline. In 1236, Ferdinand III, styled by the Spaniards St. Ferdinand, captured the city of Cordova, formerly the residence of Abdurrahman, and the Spanish caliphs his successors, and, about twelve years afterwards, he reduced Seville, and the whole province of Murcia.

The christian kingdom of Spain, thus gradually exalted on the ruins of the Mahometan power, began before the middle of the fourteenth century to have what, in that age, might be called a considerable trade and marine. And about the year 1350, the naval force of Castile, appeared formidable to England. For the next hundred years, no events of importance took place. Wars were frequent, but indecisive; and Spain continued nearly in the same situation till the reign of Henry IV, king of Castile, whose irregular conduct produced a singular insurrection, which eventually occasioned the aggrandizement of the Spanish monarchy. This prince, who began his unfortunate reign in 1454, was totally enervated by his pleasures. His court exhibited a scene of the most abandoned licentiousness. The queen, a princess of Portugal, lived as openly with her gallants as the king did with his mistresses. Every thing relating to government was neglected, and the affairs of the state fell, daily into greater disorder; till, at length, the nobility, with the archbishop of Toledo at their head, combining against Henry, tried and passed sentence on their sovereign in a singular manner. The nobility being assembled at Avila, a theatre was erected in a plain without the walls of the town, and an image, representing the king, was seated on a throne, and decorated with all the ensigns of royalty. The accusation against Henry was read. At the close of the first article of the charge, the archbishop of Toledo advanced, and lowered the crown from the head of the royal pageant; at the close of the second, the conde de Placentia, snatched the sword of justice from its side; at the close of the third, the conde de Benevente wrested the sceptre from its hand; and at the close of the whole accusation, don Diego Lopez de Stuniago tumbled it headlong from the throne. At the conclusion of this extraordinary ceremony, don Alphonso, brother of the deposed monarch, was proclaimed king of Castile and Leon.*

A civil war was the consequence of this procedure. The death of the young prince, on whom the nobles had conferred

* Robertson's Hist. ch. v. vol. 1. p. 179.

the kingdom, seemed for some time to disconcert their measures. It was necessary to appoint a successor; the choice fell on Isabella, the king's sister, and the war was carried on in her name. Henry at last purchased an ignominious peace, and retained the regal title, on the hard condition of acknowledging his sister Isabella as lawful heiress of his crown, in prejudice to the right of his daughter Joan, whom the malecontents affirmed to be the offspring of a criminal correspondence between the queen, and don la Cueva. This important affair of the succession being settled, the next grand object was the marriage of the infanta Isabella, on whom the security of the crown in a great measure depended. Several princes sought so advantageous an alliance; but a union with a neighbouring state being wisely preferred before distant connexions, Ferdinand, son of the king of Arragon, was chosen as the husband of Isabella, heiress of Castile. Henry was enraged at this alliance, which, by furnishing his rebellious subjects with the support of a powerful neighbouring prince, evidently tended to annihilate the small remains of his authority. He disinherited his sister; and re-established the rights of his daughter. The names of Joan and Isabella were every where the summons to arms, and a bloody civil war desolated the country. Peace was at length re-established. Henry at his death left a testamentary deed transmitting the crown to his daughter, who was accordingly proclaimed queen of Castile, at Placentia. But the superior fortune and force of Ferdinand and Isabella prevailed. After some years of civil war, Joan sunk into a convent, instead of ascending a throne. The death of Ferdinand's father, in 1479, added the kingdom of Arragon as well as that of Sicily to those of Castile; and Leon and Spain now began to stand high in the scale of European nations.

The first and principal object of Ferdinand's policy was to reduce within more moderate bounds the overgrown power and exorbitant pretensions of the nobles. Under various pretexts, and in consequence of decisions of the courts of law, he wrested from many of them a considerable part of their

lands, as being extorted from weak monarchs. He employed several persons of inferior extraction in different departments of the administration; and promoted to offices of honour and emolument, commoners devoted to his interest. The annexation of the grand masterships of the military order of St. Jago, Calatrava and Alcantara to the crown, was another expedient by which Ferdinand augmented his revenues as well as his power. These orders had been instituted for the purpose of waging perpetual war against the Moors. The order of St. Jago possessed eighty-four commanderies, and two hundred priories, besides other benefices; and could bring into the field one thousand men at arms. The grand master, who had the command of these troops, was the person next in power to the king; and his influence was indeed formidable to the crown. The other two orders, though inferior to that of St. Jago in wealth and consequence, were very considerable. The government of these fraternities was in the disposal of their respective members; and Ferdinand prevailed on the knights of each order to confer the grand mastership on himself and Isabella.

In the grand enterprise of abolishing the baronial jurisdictions the peculiar circumstances of the kingdom of Arragon afforded to Ferdinand an advantage unknown in other countries. The incessant hostilities with the Moors; the frequent civil wars between the kings and the nobility, as well as those which the barons carried on against one another, had filled every province with violence and rapine. Troops of banditti ranged over every part of the country. Pillage and murder became so common, as in a great measure, to suspend all intercourse between the different cities. The feudal lords exercised the authority of sovereigns in their respective territories; but interior police was very little the object of their attention, and their administration of justice was too weak to put a stop to these disorders. In this tremendous state, self preservation impelled the cities to have recourse to an extraordinary remedy. About the middle of the thirteenth century, the cities of Arragon formed themselves into an associ-

population of the country, was also considerable. It is impossible to state the precise number of Jews, who, in one year, 1492, were expelled or massacred; but it is generally fixed at about eight hundred thousand persons. Thus did the sanguinary policy and intolerant zeal of Ferdinand depopulate and impoverish Spain, and counterbalance the advantages arising from the re-union of all its provinces. The year 1492, forms a memorable epoch in the history of Spain. In that year Grenada was conquered, and America discovered. Never did a concurrence of more fortunate events mark the annals of any country. Providence afforded every means of aggrandizing the Spanish monarchy, had its rulers known how to make a right use of its blessings.

Isabella, queen of Castile, died in 1504, and Joanna, the heiress, wife of the archduke Philip, being, in consequence of a melancholy disorder, rendered unfit for governing, she appointed Ferdinand regent of the kingdom, until the maturity of their grandson Charles, afterwards the famous Charles V. Isabella had, during her whole reign, enjoyed the love of her subjects; and her death was long and sincerely regretted. Her memory must ever be dear to the Americans. It was her munificence which enabled Columbus to prosecute the voyage, in which he discovered the new world.

Ferdinand died in 1516, leaving his grandson Charles V, sole heir of the kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Castile, and Arragon. Cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, was by the will of Ferdinand appointed sole regent of Castile, until the arrival of his grandson. This minister, whose character is equally illustrious and singular, was originally a friar of the Franciscan order, one of the most rigid in the Roman church. He united to the punctilious devotion of a monk, the abilities of a consummate statesman, and even those of a military commander. In the reign of Ferdinand, he conducted, in person, an army against the Moors of Barbary, where he reduced Oran and other places of importance, and annexed considerable conquests to the crown of Castile. His magnificent generosity on this occasion, was still more extraor-

dinary: he defrayed the whole expense of the expedition out of his archiepiscopal revenues. The cardinal, although from his advanced age, he could not expect long to enjoy this authority, resolved to employ the short time of its continuance in depressing the power of the nobles. Great as the attempt might seem, some circumstances, in his situation, promised him greater success than any of the kings of Castile could have expected. By a strict economy in the management of the vast revenues of his archbishopric, he was master of more ready money than the crown could ever command; while his charity, munificence and reputation, both for wisdom and sanctity, rendered him the idol of the people.

One of his first measures was to take into pay a body of troops, with which he reduced the Castilian grandees to acts of submission, very mortifying to their haughty spirit. In the next place, he issued orders to every city in Castile, requiring them to enrol and train to arms, on Sundays and holidays, a certain number of their inhabitants, promising, at the same time, to such as enlisted in this militia, an exemption from all taxes. The necessity of having an armed force ready to repel the incursions of the piratical Moors of Barbary, furnished him with a plausible pretext for this vigorous measure.

The feudal nobility soon began to perceive that the reduction of their power was his principal object. They excited the cities to refuse obedience to the minister's order, representing it as incompatible with their charters and privileges. The alarm was widely spread; Valladolid, Burgos, and several other cities, rose in open rebellion; and some of the grandees declared themselves their protectors. Ximenes continued firm and undaunted amidst the general convulsion; and partly by persuasion, partly by terror, brought all the refractory cities to compliance. Having thus proved successful in reducing the exorbitant power of the nobles, he resolved to attack their immense possessions, by a resumption of the crown lands. The rights by which they were held, were in many cases extremely defective, being often founded

only on successful usurpation, which the crown had been too weak to oppose. But as these encroachments were almost coeval with the government itself, an inquiry, carried back to their origin, must have excited a general revolt. The cardinal, who was not less prudent than enterprising, confined himself to the preceding reign; and at once resumed whatever had been alienated during that period. The effect of these revocations extended to many of the grandees of the highest rank. The addition made to the revenue by these resumptions, enabled the cardinal to pay his new militia, and to establish magazines, more numerous and better furnished with warlike stores, than Spain had ever before possessed.

The nobles, every day more alarmed, began seriously to think of providing for the security of their order. Desperate resolutions were formed; but before they proceeded to extremities, they thought it requisite to examine the powers, by which the cardinal archbishop exercised such high authority. Three of the principal grandees were deputed for that purpose. The cardinal received them with civility, and showed them the testament of Ferdinand, with its ratification by Charles. These not seeming to satisfy them, he used a more effectual mode of reasoning. Conducting them to a balcony, from whence they had a view of a large body of troops under arms, with a formidable train of artillery. "With these," said he "I govern Castile, and with these I will govern it, until the king your master and mine, shall come to take possession of the kingdom." A declaration so bold and decisive silenced all opposition; and the cardinal maintained his authority.

On the arrival of Charles in Spain, Ximenes hastening to the coast to receive his sovereign, fell dangerously ill of a disorder, supposed to have been the effect of poison. This accident retarding his journey, he wrote to Charles with his usual boldness, advising him to dismiss his Flemish courtiers, whose numbers and influence already gave umbrage to the Spaniards; and earnestly requesting an interview that he might inform him of the state of the nation, and the temper of his

subjects. This interview, however, both the Flemish and Spanish courtiers anxiously endeavoured to prevent, and they had the address to keep Charles constantly at a distance from Aranda where the cardinal then was; Ximenes seeing himself neglected, did not bear this treatment with his usual fortitude. He had expected a more grateful return from a prince, to whom he delivered a kingdom more flourishing than it ever had been in any former age; and authority, more extensive and better established than any of his ancestors had ever possessed. Conscious of his own merit, he could not refrain from giving vent, sometimes, to indignation and complaint. He lamented the fate of his country, and foretold the calamities to which it would be exposed from the insolence, the rapaciousness, and the ignorance of foreigners; a prediction which has been but too fully accomplished. While the mind of this great man was contemplating so melancholy a prospect, he received a letter from Charles, dismissing him from his councils, under pretence of easing his age from that burden, which he had so ably sustained. He expired a few hours after experiencing this instance of ingratitude; and historians, ever fond of assigning causes for the death of illustrious personages, consider the reception of this letter as fatal to the minister. But it is neither impossible nor improbable that an old man of eighty, who had for some time been dangerously ill, might have died, even if he had not been dismissed from his ministry.

Cardinal Ximenes was not only a great but an extraordinary man. Although honoured with a cardinal's hat, and promoted to the archbishopric of Toledo, which, next to the papacy, is the richest ecclesiastical dignity in the Christian world, and also appointed to the regency of Castile, he preserved, in a court, the same austerity of manners that distinguished him in the cloister. Although he displayed, in public, the magnificence becoming his station, he still retained his monastic severity; wearing, under his pontifical robes, the coarse frock of St. Francis, and hair cloth, instead of linen. In all his journies he travelled on foot; and always slept in

his habit, most frequently on the ground or on boards, scarcely ever in bed. Every day he celebrated mass in person, consecrated several hours to private devotion; and even allotted some time to study; he regularly attended the council; received and read all papers presented to him; dictated letters and instructions; and took under his own immediate inspection, all business, civil, ecclesiastical and military. Every moment of his time was filled up with serious employments; and even, in extreme old age, his laborious assiduity in business, appeared sufficient to exhaust the most youthful and vigorous constitution. His political abilities are universally acknowledged. His understanding was naturally penetrating and vigorous. His extensive genius formed vast and magnificent schemes. All his plans were bold and original, and all his measures decisive. He pursued every object with unremitted attention, and undaunted firmness. Accustomed from early youth to subdue his own passions, he showed little indulgence to those of others: and, though free from every imputation of cruelty, all his conduct discovered a severe inflexibility of mind and austerity of character. The variety, the grandeur, and the success of his projects, during his short regency of twenty months, are proofs of his sagacity in council, his prudence in conduct, and his boldness in execution. To all these qualifications he joined the rare merit of perfect disinterestedness: all his schemes had no other object than the good of his country. His reputation is still high in Spain, both for wisdom and sanctity; and he is the only prime minister mentioned in history, whom the people reverenced as a saint.

The loss of such a man as Cardinal Ximenes would at any time have been a public misfortune; but it was peculiarly so at this juncture. Charles, young and inexperienced, was overruled by his Flemish courtiers, and wanted a bold and prudent minister, who, equally zealous for the just prerogative of the crown, and the rational liberties of the people, might have held, with a steady hand, the balance between the ambition of the prince and the licentious turbulence of the sub-

jects. The whole time of the king's stay in Spain exhibited a scene of continual opposition between the court and the country. The partiality of Charles to his countrymen, the Flemings, first gave rise to the public disturbances. These foreigners were advanced to offices of trust and emolument, and they either engrossed or publicly sold all honours and benefices. An historian, of unbiassed veracity, asserts, that in the course of ten months, the Flemings remitted into the low countries the enormous sum of 1,100,000 ducats. The nominations of William de Croy, a young Fleming, not of canonical age, to the archbishopric of Toledo, exasperated the Spaniards still more than all these exactions. Both clergy and laity regarded this elevation of a foreigner to the highest ecclesiastical dignity, and the richest benefice in the kingdom, as an injury and an insult to the whole nation. The Spaniards being thus incensed against the administration, resolved to oppose its measures. Charles went from province to province assembling the Cortez; always demanding money, and meeting with delays or refusals. The nobles did not display that spirit and resolution, which formerly distinguished their order; but their want of vigour was sufficiently made up, by the resolution of the commons. Toledo, Segovia, Seville and several other cities, entered into a confederacy for the preservation of their rights and privileges.

The election of Charles to the imperial dignity served only to increase the dissatisfaction of his Spanish subjects. How honorable soever it might be to the monarch, they considered it highly detrimental to the kingdom, which would be considered as a province, and be governed by a viceroy.

They saw that their blood must be shed, and their treasures exhausted by wars, in which the nation had no concern, and that Spain would be inevitably plunged in the chaos of Italian and German politics. No sooner was it known that Charles intended to leave the kingdom, than several cities, of the first rank, remonstrated against the measure. The king summoned the Cortez of Castile to meet at Compostella in Gallicia; not for the purpose of redressing grievances, but in order to ob-

tain money. The temper of the nation indicated a strong opposition to the court. Toledo sent deputies to protest against holding the Cortez in so distant a province. The representatives of Salamanca, on the same account, refused the oaths of allegiance; and those of Toro, Madrid, and Cordova, protested against any grant of money. The inhabitants of Valencia rose in arms, and expelled the nobility. In the Cortez, the aristocratical party, jealous of that spirit of independence which they saw rising among the commons, favoured the pretensions of the court; and in contempt of the general sense of the nation, a donative was granted. The Cortez presented a petition for the redress of those grievances of which all ranks of people complained. But Charles having obtained their money, paid little regard to their petition; and having appointed viceroys for the government of the kingdom, immediately departed for Germany.

The departure of the monarch was soon followed by a civil war, which deserves to be remarked as exhibiting the state of Spain in that age, and evincing the high notions of liberty which the Spaniards then entertained. No sooner was it known that the Cortez had granted money to the king, than a universal indignation was excited. The citizens of Toledo, who considered themselves as guardians of the rights of the Castilian commons, flew to arms, seized the gates of the city, and attacked the alcazar or castle, which they soon obliged to surrender. They deprived of all authority every person who was suspected of attachment to the court, established a democratical government, composed of deputies from the several parishes; and levied troops for their defence. The principal leader of the people was Don John de Padilla, a young nobleman of great courage, talents and ambition. The citizens of Segovia massacred Tordesillas, one of their representatives, who had voted for the pecuniary grant, and hung his body on the common gallows. Burgos, Zamora, and several other cities, manifested the same spirit; and, though their representatives had saved themselves by a timely flight,

they were hanged in effigy, their houses levelled with the ground, and their goods destroyed.

Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, regent of Spain, who then resided at Valladolid, assembled the council to deliberate on the subject of these insurrections. Measures of coercion were resolved upon by the regent. Ronquillo, one of the king's judges, was sent with a body of troops to Segovia, in order to examine the affair; but the inhabitants instantly took arms, and shut their gates. Ronquillo denounced them rebels and outlaws, and blockaded the city. But they defended themselves with great bravery; and reinforcements arriving from Toledo, under the command of Padilla, the besiegers were obliged to retire with the loss of their baggage and military chest. Fonseca, commander in chief of the forces of Castile, was then ordered to besiege Segovia in form. But for that purpose artillery was necessary; and in order to acquire a battering train, the general resolved to seize the town of Medina del Campo, where cardinal Ximenes had established a vast magazine of military stores. His troops were repulsed by the inhabitants; but he found means to set fire to the town, which was almost totally consumed. The impression which this severity made on the minds of the people, was forcible. The citizens of Valladolid flew to arms, burnt Fonseca's palace to the ground, elected new magistrates, levied troops, and made every preparation for war.

The commons of Castile, exasperated by injuries, had taken arms on the same principles, and with the same general views, but yet without concert. Padilla and the other popular leaders resolved to improve these partial insurrections into a connected plan, by forming the insurgent cities into a regular association. For this purpose a general convention was held at Avila, to which the cities sent their deputies. They all bound themselves by a solemn oath to defend the rights of the commons, and assumed the name of the Holy Junta. They then declared the nomination of a foreigner to the regency illegal; and resolved to oblige the cardinal of Utrecht to resign the ensigns of his offices. Soon after this resolution

was taken, Don Padilla made himself master of the person of Joanna, the king's mother, and placed her at the head of the government. This enterprise was of great advantage to their cause, and gave an additional credit and power to the junta, who now seemed to act under the royal authority. The Castilians, who idolized the memory of Isabella, and retained a wonderful attachment to her daughter, believing her recovery complete, ascribed it to a miraculous interposition of heaven in their favour. At first, indeed, she had showed some symptoms of returning reason, but soon relapsed into her former melancholy. The junta, however, concealing as much as possible her infirmities, carried on all their deliberations and issued all their orders in her name. Don Padilla advancing to Valladolid, where he was received as the saviour of his country, deposed the regent, permitting him to reside as a private person in that city. He then seized such members of the council as he found in that place, and conducted them to Tordesillas, where the queen and the junta resided, carrying with him the seals of the kingdom, the public archives, and the books of the treasury.

The kingdom of Valencia was, in the mean while, agitated by still more violent commotions. Before the king's departure from Spain, an association called the Brotherhood, had been formed in that city, the members of which, under pretext of defending the coasts against the descents of pirates, had obtained the regal sanction. The grievances of which the Valencians complained, arose from the oppressive effects of the feudal system, rather than from any unwarrantable exercise of the royal prerogative. They turned their eyes, therefore, chiefly against the nobles. They expelled them from most of the cities of that part of Spain; plundered their houses, and assaulted their castles. Having elected thirteen persons, one from each company of tradesmen in Valencia, they committed to these the administration of government, with a charge to reform the laws, and dispense impartial justice. The nobles being obliged to take arms in their own defence; hostilities were carried on between them and the

commons, with all the animosity that mutual injuries could inspire.

Charles, who was then in the Netherlands, where he received reiterated accounts of these transactions, was exceedingly alarmed; especially as he could not at this time return to Spain without endangering the imperial crown. Resolving to make trial of conciliatory measures, he issued circular letters to the cities of Castile, assuring them of a general pardon, on condition of laying down their arms, and offering such concessions as would, without doubt, at an earlier period have preserved the public tranquillity. At the same time he wrote to the nobles, exciting them to assert with vigour their own rights, and those of the crown, against the extravagant claims of the commons. The junta, on the other hand, prepared a remonstrance, containing a long enumeration, not only of grievances, but also of such new regulations as were thought necessary. One of the grand objects of the junta was the total abolition of what still remained of the feudal system; they, therefore, required a revocation of all privileges which the nobles had at any time obtained, to the prejudice of the commons; particularly that the possessions of the nobility should be equally subject to taxation with those of the commons. Dr. Robertson observes that "the principles of liberty seem to have been better understood at this period by the Castilians, than by any other people in Europe; they had acquired more liberal ideas of their own rights and privileges; they had formed more bold and generous sentiments concerning government, and discovered an extent of political knowledge, to which the English themselves did not attain, until more than a century afterwards." But in England, those ideas and sentiments have, since that time, been progressive; in Spain, they have been retrograde, and were considered as extinguished, until the recent occurrences exhibited proofs to the contrary.

Among the Castilians, the spirit of reform, emboldened by success, became too impetuous. It was imprudent in the junta at once to attack the prerogative of the crown, and the

privileges of the nobility. While the commons confined their demand to the redress of such grievances as were occasioned by the king's inexperience, and the weakness or wickedness of his ministers, the nobles had favoured, or at least connived at their proceedings; but when they saw a direct attack aimed at their privileges, they ranged themselves on the side of the crown. The members of the junta, who were commissioned to present their remonstrance to the emperor, and had, for that purpose, immediately set out for Germany, received on the road certain intelligence from court, that they could not appear there without endangering their lives. The deputies, therefore, stopping short in their journey, informed the junta of this circumstance. This intelligence exasperated the commons beyond the bounds of prudence. They resolved to collect their whole force, and to exert themselves with vigour in opposing this combination of the crown, and the aristocracy. They accordingly took the field with 20,000 men; but violent disputes arose concerning the choice of a commander. Don Padilla was the idol of the people and the soldiers, and the only person whom they thought worthy of that honour. But several members of the junta being jealous of his popularity, the command was conferred on Don Pedro de Giron, eldest son of the count de Uruena, and a grandee of the first order, who, through a motive of private resentment against the emperor, had joined the party of the commons. The troops of the regency were inferior in number to those of the junta, but greatly excelled them in discipline and valour; and the characters of the generals were equally different. The Conde de Haro, commander of the royalists, was an officer of great experience and distinguished abilities. Don Pedro de Giron, general of the commons, soon gave a fatal proof of his deficiency in both these qualifications. By a series of injudicious manœuvres, he suffered the enemy to surprise Tordesillas in the night, which was garrisoned only by a regiment of priests. Those holy warriors made a desperate resistance, but, about day break, the Conde de Haro carried the place by assault, made himself master of the queen's per-

son, took prisoners many members of the junta, and recovered the great seal, with the other ensigns of royalty. After this fatal blow, a general consternation seized the commons; and such of the nobles as had hitherto been fearful or wavering, immediately joined the standard of the regency. Don Pedro de Giron was loudly accused of having betrayed Tordesillas to the royalists; and, although the loss of that important place appears to have been owing to his misconduct rather than to his treachery, he so entirely lost all credit with the commons, that he resigned his commission, and retired in disgust.

In Valencia, the commons were equally unsuccessful. The emperor being fully occupied, left the nobles of Valencia to defend their own cause. During the space of two years, 1520 and 1521, the commons of that country carried on the war with greater perseverance and courage than could have been expected from troops composed of tradesmen and mechanics, and commanded by officers of the same description. The nobles were defeated in several actions, and repulsed in their assaults of different towns; but their superior skill in war often gave them the advantage. At length they were joined by a body of Castilian cavalry, which the regency sent to their assistance. With the help of this reinforcement, they entirely routed the Valencian brotherhood. The popular leaders were put to death with great cruelty; and the ancient government of Valencia was re-established.

The affairs of Tordesillas had exceedingly disconcerted the commons of Castile. But at last they began to recover from their consternation, and fresh bodies of insurgents from all parts of the kingdom advanced towards Valladolid, where those members of the junta, who had escaped from Tordesillas, had formed a kind of committee for the management of public affairs. Their army being thus recruited, Don Padilla was appointed commander in chief. His name revived the spirits of the troops, and seemed to make the whole party forget their late misfortunes.

In reviewing the enterprises and transactions of those ages, the scarcity of money, when compared with the immense sums so easily raised in modern times, is strikingly obvious. The deficiency of this necessary article was, at that period, severely felt in Spain. A great part of the current coin had been sent out of the kingdom by the Flemish courtiers, whom Charles had brought with him from the Netherlands. Vast sums had been remitted by that monarch to Germany, in order to support his election to the empire; and the mines of America, as yet, afforded only scanty supplies. Both the regency and the commons were equally at a loss for the means of maintaining their troops. The royal treasury was exhausted, and all the sources of revenue were in the power of the insurgents. Those revenues were small; the stated taxes were inconsiderable, and daily decreasing, as commerce of every kind was interrupted; and the junta were afraid of irritating the people by new impositions. To extricate themselves from this difficulty, both parties adopted decisive measures. The regency seized the queen's jewels, and the plate belonging to the nobility, and obtained a trifling loan from Portugal. On the other hand, Donna Maria Pacheco, wife of Don Padilla, a woman of noble birth, great accomplishments, and enterprising ambition, formed the bold scheme of seizing the rich and magnificent ornaments of the cathedral of Toledo. This project she executed in person; and (lest so daring an action should, by its appearance of impiety, give offence to the people) she walked to the church in solemn procession with a train of attendants, in mourning habits, and falling down on her knees, publicly implored the pardon of those saints, whose sacred shrines the necessities of her country obliged her with reluctance to violate. By this artifice she screened herself from the imputation of sacrilege, demonstrated to the people her zeal for their cause, and raised a considerable supply of money for carrying on the war.

Fatal divisions prevailed among the commons. The associated cities were actuated by mutual jealousies arising from

rivalship in grandeur or commerce. Burgos abandoned the confederacy, and some of the inferior cities exhibited symptoms of disaffection. The popular abilities of Don Padilla, their general, excited the envy and jealousy of many of the principal partizans. On the other hand, the nobility, who, as well as the commons, were exasperated against the court, were extremely desirous of terminating the war, and made overtures of peace to the junta, on terms that appeared not unreasonable. Don Padilla, in the mean while, displaying considerable abilities as a general, his success contributed to precipitate his party into unwise measures. Rejecting at once all proposals for an accommodation, the junta declared their intention of stripping the nobles of all the crown lands, which they or their ancestors had at any times usurped, and of annexing them to the royal domains; a measure, which would have been nothing less than the confiscation of the estates of most of the noblemen in Spain, and must have rendered the crown absolute.

While the junta were thus threatening the total ruin of the nobility, Don Padilla, flushed with success, laid seige to Torrelobaton, a place of great strength, and took it by storm. The inconstancy of the junta prevented him from turning his success to advantage. The dissentions which prevailed among its members, as is usually the case in popular assemblies, embarrassed their deliberations and prevented them from coming to any prudent decision. Irresolution and mutual distrust appeared in all their proceedings. They again listened to overtures of peace, and even agreed to a suspension of arms. The negociation which, like the preceding, terminated in nothing, proved a fatal check to Padilla's success. While it was carrying on, his army was weakened by desertion; and on the expiration of the truce, he found himself unable to prevent the junction of the constable of Castile with the Conde de Haro. Too weak to hazard a battle, he attempted to retreat to Toro; but the Conde de Haro advanced so rapidly at the head of his cavalry, that he came up with him at Villalar, and immediately attacked his fatigued and dispirited

troops, who were soon thrown into confusion. Their general, Don Padilla, exerted himself with extraordinary courage and activity, in order to rally them; but finding that impossible, and resolving not to survive his defeat, he rushed into the midst of the enemies' ranks; and being wounded, was made prisoner, with most of his principal officers. The common soldiers, on throwing down their arms, were generously suffered to depart. The next day, Don Padilla was led to execution, and met his fate with undaunted fortitude.

This victory was decisive in its consequences. Valladolid opened its gates to the conquerors; and being treated with great lenity, the other associated cities, successively, followed the example, with the single exception of Toledo, which was animated by the presence of Donna Maria Pacheco Padilla, the general's widow. This extraordinary woman, instead of bewailing her husband with unavailing sorrow, immediately prepared to testify her respect for his memory by prosecuting the cause, in defence of which he suffered. She used great address to inflame the minds of the populace. For this purpose, she marched through the streets of Toledo with her son, a young child, being clad in deep mourning, having a standard carried before her, on which was represented the manner of her husband's execution. She ordered crucifixes to be carried before the soldiers, in order to animate them with a religious zeal in their cause. By these means she kept the minds of the people in such perpetual agitation, as prevented their passions from subsiding, and rendered them insensible of the danger to which they were exposed, in standing alone against the whole force of the monarchy. She levied troops, and exacted a great contribution from the clergy, to defray the expense of keeping them on foot. She attempted, but in vain, to reanimate the courage of the other cities. The royal army was for some time employed in Navarre; but as soon as the French were expelled from that province, it was ordered back into Castile, and Toledo was invested. Donna Maria now exerted all her courage and abilities; she defended the city with inflexible resolution; her

troops repulsed the besiegers in several sallies, and no progress was made towards the reduction of the place, until she lost the support of the clergy. On receiving intelligence of the death of William de Croy, the Flemish archbishop of Toledo, whose possession of that see had been their principal grievance, and of the nomination of a Castilian for his successor, they immediately abandoned her party. They even persuaded the people that she transacted every thing by the force of enchantments; that a familiar demon suggested all her schemes, and regulated her whole conduct. The credulous multitude, whose favour is always precarious, being weary of a long blockade, and despairing of any succour, grew extremely desirous of peace. They, therefore, took arms against her, and surrendered the city to the royalists. But even this reverse did not subdue the intrepid courage of Donna Maria. She retired with a few resolute followers to the citadel, which she defended with astonishing fortitude four months longer; and when reduced to the last extremity, she made her escape in disguise into Portugal, where she had many friends and relatives. Her flight terminated the civil war; the citadel surrendered, and tranquillity was re-established in Castile. Since this memorable insurrection of the commons of Castile, Spain, which was then the most limited, gradually became one of the most absolute monarchies of Europe.

The emperor, on his arrival in Spain, by showing his clemency, secured his authority. After a rebellion so general, scarcely twenty persons suffered capital punishment in Castile. By this judicious lenity, as also by carefully avoiding every thing which had disgusted the Castilians during his former residence among them, and by conforming to their manners and customs, he entirely conciliated their affections, and brought them to support him in all his enterprises, with a zeal and valour to which he owed a great part of his success and grandeur. It would be useless to enter into a particular account of those wars, in which he was supported by the wealth and valour of Spain. What is most deserving of

notice, in relation to these affairs, is related in treating of Germany and France. With the history of those countries, that of Spain, in regard to her foreign politics, is, from this period, intimately connected. Those connections, however, were soon discovered to be ruinous to Spain; and at last, the Castilians found themselves obliged to check their zeal and liberality, which could not keep pace with the necessities of the emperor. The year 1539, exhibited a proof to the world that Charles had prosecuted his ambitious designs to the utmost extent that his finances would permit. Large arrears were due to the troops, who had long been amused with vain hopes and promises. At last they broke out into open mutiny. The soldiers in the Milanese, plundered the open country without control. In Sicily they proceeded to the greatest excesses; having expelled their officers, they elected others in their stead; took and pillaged several cities, and carried on their operations with all the regularity of concerted rebellion.

From these difficulties, the emperor was fortunately extricated by the abilities and address of his generals, who, partly by borrowing money in their own name, or in that of their master, and partly by extorting large sums from the cities in their respective provinces, raised what was sufficient for discharging the arrears of the soldiers; and, by paying them, quelled the insurrections.

The emperor, in the mean while, had depended on the subsidies which he expected from his Spanish subjects, and for this purpose, he assembled the Cortez of Castile at Toledo; and having represented to them the great expenses of his military operations, proposed to levy by a general excise, such supplies as were adequate to the present exigency. He met with an unexpected opposition. The Cortez complained that Spain was drained of its wealth and inhabitants in prosecuting quarrels, in which the kingdom had no interest, and in fighting battles, from which it could derive no benefit; and they were determined not to add to these burdens by furnishing the emperor with the means of engaging in new

enterprizes, equally ruinous. The nobles, in particular, vehemently inveighed against the impost proposed, as an encroachment on the privileges of their order, which had always been exempted from the payment of taxes. The emperor employed arguments, intreaties and promises, in order to obtain a supply of money; but finding all his endeavours unsuccessful, he dismissed the assembly with marks of the greatest indignation. From that period neither the prelates, nor the nobles have been called to the Cortez; their exclusion being grounded on this obvious principle, that those who pay no part of the public taxes, ought not to claim any right to vote on the subject of imposing them. None have, therefore, been admitted to the Cortez, but the representatives of eighteen cities. These being, in number, thirty-six persons, two from each community, form an assembly, which in dignity and power bears no resemblance to the ancient Cortez, and in all their determinations are absolutely at the disposal of the court. The commons in the years 1521, and 1522, carried to an extreme their resentment against the nobles; and, by threatening their total destruction, compelled them to support the royal prerogative with a zeal, that proved equally fatal to both those orders. The nobles assisted the crown in depressing the commons; and then, being deprived of their support, were themselves, by Charles and his successors, brought under the absolute authority of the sovereign.

Charles, on this occasion, received from the Spanish grandees at Toledo a variety of mortifying insults, which he thought it more prudent to dissemble than to resent. Their power was still great, and they displayed it with a peculiar kind of haughtiness; but the Cortez of Castile being reduced to an inferior kind of assembly, under the influence of the court, those of the other provinces became more tractable. When Charles in 1543, assembled the Cortez of Arragon and Valencia for the purpose of recognizing his son Philip as heir to those crowns, he found little difficulty in obtaining from them a liberal donative. During the remainder of this

reign, Spain showed no mark of disaffection, but liberally contributed by its treasures and its arms, to the aggrandizement of the monarch.

Toward the end of the reign of Charles V. the house of Austria was in the zenith of its greatness. By the fortunate marriages of a long train of predecessors, the possession of the ancient and powerful houses of Burgundy and Castile, were united to that of Austria, in the person of this monarch, who, himself, had by arms, by negotiation, and by purchase, added the provinces of Friesland, Utrecht, Overyssel, and Gueldres to his Burgundian dominions. He had also secured to Spain the quiet succession of Naples, and united to his dominions the duchy of Milan, one of the most fertile and populous of the Italian provinces; and besides all these he possessed the imperial dignity. But his vast possessions, in Europe, were of inconsiderable extent when compared with his acquisitions in America, where immense empires abounding with inexhaustible mines of gold and silver, were annexed to his crown. The Philippine islands being also discovered and conquered during his reign, he was the first monarch who could boast, that the sun never set on his dominions. His brother Ferdinand was, at the same time, king of Bohemia and Hungary; and likewise in possession of Austria, and its appendages.

Charles V. was succeeded by his son Philip II. one of the most tyrannical and obstinate princes, that Providence in its wrath ever gave to a civilized nation. The principal events of his reign are related in our historical views of England and Holland. It may here suffice to say, that his whole reign was a tissue of dark and intriguing policy. After exhausting his treasury, though supported by the mines of Mexico and Peru, he left his kingdom in a state of debility and decline, from which it has never recovered.

Philip II. died A. D. 1598, immediately after the treaty of Vervins had re-established peace between Spain and France. His character stands conspicuous in history, as that of a haughty, jealous, and inexorable tyrant. With great political

talents, he has not acquired the reputation of a great prince. No European monarch ever possessed resources so greatly superior to those of his cotemporaries. Besides his Spanish and Italian dominions, the kingdom of Portugal and the Netherlands, he possessed the whole commerce of India, and the rich mines of America. But all could not supply the demands of his obstinate and ruinous ambition. His bigotry and persecuting spirit occasioned the loss of the Netherlands; and his long and expensive wars, in vainly attempting their recovery, with his prodigious armaments and his contests with France and England, exhausted his treasures, and enriched his enemies. During his reign, Spain began rapidly to decline. The people, dazzled with the views of external splendour, and elated with romantic ideas of imaginary wealth, neglected agriculture and manufactures; and were soon obliged to depend on the industry of their neighbours, not only for the luxuries and conveniences, but, sometimes, even for the necessaries of life. Spain became only the channel through which her American wealth flowed into other countries; and her merchants have, since that time, been little more than factors for the rest of Europe. The private character of Philip merits an equal degree of reprobation with his maxims of government. His treatment of his wife Isabella, of France, and of Don Carlos, his son, and heir apparent of his crown, shows him to have been not less a tyrant to his family than to his subjects. He was accused by the Prince of Orange, in a public manifesto, of having poisoned his wife, that he might marry Anne of Austria, his niece. The truth or the falsehood of this accusation cannot now be ascertained; but, it appears, that he sacrificed his son to his jealous policy. This affair is enveloped in mystery; but it is said that the unfortunate Don Carlos, who was of a temper naturally rash and hasty, had taken the liberty of censuring his father's government, especially in regard to the Netherlands, and that he was suspected of a design of putting himself at the head of the insurgents. He was put under confinement; and, although several princes interceded in his be-

half, his father was inexorable. The unhappy prince was tried and condemned; and his death, which is said to have been effected by the administration of poison, almost immediately followed his sentence.

Philip II. was succeeded by his son Philip III. who carried on the war in the Netherlands till 1609, when a truce of twelve years was concluded at the Hague. This prince, influenced by the same bigotry as his father, adopted a measure not less impolitic than cruel. He issued an edict ordering all the descendants of the Moors to leave the kingdom within the space of thirty days, under the penalty of death. Invidious reports were propagated against those unfortunate people. It was rumoured that they intended to rise in rebellion; to call in foreign assistance, and to massacre all the old Christians. Under such pretexts, the king seized their property, and expelled them from their country. Those descendants of the conquerors of Spain, among whom the Jews were included, had been compelled to embrace the Catholic religion, and were distinguished by the name of New Christians; but were all represented as Mahometans or Jews, in reality, although Catholics in outward profession. Several of them, however, were ecclesiastics; some of them even were in eminent stations; but no distinction was made. All such, as were of the Moorish or Jewish race, were involved in one inconsiderate ruin. Priests were dragged from the altar; and judges from the bench. Many of them are said to have been drowned in the sea. Numbers were transported to the coast of Barbary, of whom, scarcely a fourth part were able to preserve their miserable lives. These unhappy victims having the double misfortune of being considered as infidels by the Christians, and as Christians by the infidels, met with cruelties and death in various shapes.

As no persecution was ever more cruel, none was ever more impolitic. Those proscribed people were the most industrious, and valuable part of the community. It does not appear, that they could ever have been able to endanger the safety of the kingdom; and had they not been oppressed by

injustice and tyranny, it is as little probable that they would have sought to disturb its peace. But persecution impelled them to resistance. They elected a chief and attempted to oppose the execution of the royal mandate; but being unprovided with arms, their reduction was easily effected. By this violent and impolitic measure, Spain lost near one million of her most industrious inhabitants. The best informed writers agree, that by the various expulsions of the Moorish and Jewish race, between two and three million persons, on a moderatec alculation, were lost to the monarchy; and as Spain was already depopulated by long and bloody wars, and by repeated emigrations to America, as well as enervated by luxury, that kingdom sunk into a state of languor, from which it has never yet recovered.

The kings of Spain were ignorant, that a numerous and industrious commonalty constitutes the riches, the glory, and strength of a state. Philip III. a weak and impolitic prince, died in 1621. Philip IV. his son and successor, was of a more enterprising disposition; and his minister, the count d'Olivarez, to great political talents, joined a still greater ambition. His grand scheme was to raise the house of Austria to that absolute dominion in Europe, for which it had so long struggled. His plans did not succeed. They plunged Spain into a bloody and destructive war, against both France and the Netherlands. But the greatest misfortune of this monarch's reign, was the revolt of Portugal in 1640. Peace was restored between Spain and the Netherlands in 1648, but the war, between that kingdom and France, was terminated only by the peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, after having continued thirty years.

Philip IV. died in 1667, after a long reign of forty-six years, mostly spent in bloody and unsuccessful wars. He was succeeded by Charles II. his son, during whose reign nothing remarkable happened, except the uninteresting wars with France, which were generally to the disadvantage of Spain, and were terminated by the peace of Ryswick in 1697. Spain declined rapidly during this reign.

The death of Charles II. without issue, in 1701, gave rise to that memorable contest of which Spain and Flanders were the principal theatre. The narrative of a war, so general, and so productive of incidents, would require several volumes; it suffices here to say, that the confederates were chiefly successful in Flanders. In Spain, victory was more fluctuating: the principal actions which took place in that kingdom, were the battle of Almanza in 1707, in which the French and Spaniards were completely victorious; those of Almanara and Saragossa, where the Spanish troops were totally defeated; and that of Villa Viciosa, in which the allies, although not conquerors, forced the enemy to retreat. In consequence of this fluctuation of success, the archduke of Austria and the duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. were alternately proclaimed king at Madrid, by the names of Charles III. and Philip V. After almost every province of Spain had in turn been the theatre of war, this mighty contest, in which so many powers were engaged, terminated in the elevation of Philip V. to the throne. Thus in the year 1714, the Spanish monarchy was transferred from the house of Austria to that of Bourbon. The previous history of France and Spain sufficiently demonstrates the advantages, that both must necessarily have derived from this event. Instead of the bloody and almost incessant wars, which, ever since the accession of Charles V. had exhausted the resources of the two kingdoms, they now became united in a family alliance that has seldom been interrupted, until the revolution of France gave a new turn to their politics.

The accession of the Bourbon family, although productive of many and great benefits to Spain, has been attended with one great disadvantage. In consequence of the family alliance, that kingdom has often been drawn into ruinous naval wars with England, by which its commerce and marine have greatly suffered; and its rich colonies have been frequently endangered.

Philip V. in 1734, having invaded Naples, placed his brother don Carlos on the throne of that kingdom, and, after a

long and turbulent reign, died in 1746. He was succeeded by his son Ferdinand IV. a peaceable prince, who reformed many abuses, and endeavoured to promote the commerce and prosperity of his kingdom. This prince, dying in 1759, was succeeded by his brother don Carlos, king of Naples, who ascended the throne, by the name of Charles III. He entered into an unsuccessful war with England, in which he lost the famous port of Havanna, which, however, was restored at the peace of 1763. In 1775, the Spanish ministry planned an expedition against Algiers, which had an unfortunate termination. The Spaniards, after landing 24,000 men near that city, were obliged to retreat with great loss. In 1783, and 1784, their attacks upon Algiers were renewed by sea, but produced little effect. In the American war, Spain as well as France, took an active part. Her principal enterprise was the unsuccessful attack on Gibraltar. The most important of her conquests was that of the island of Minorca; which its brave garrison, after a glorious defence under general Murray, was at last obliged to surrender. Charles III. in imitation of Peter the great of Russia, formed the hazardous project of obliging his subjects to lay aside their ancient dress and manners. He carried his endeavours so far, that it occasioned an insurrection in Madrid, a circumstance, which, among a great number of others recorded in history, shows that despotism itself is under the necessity of paying some attention to the inclinations and prejudices of the people. Charles III. dying, in 1788, after a reign of twenty-nine years, Charles IV. his son ascended the throne. The part which he took in the revolutionary war against France, with the subsequent peace and alliance concluded between this monarch and the French nation, have already been mentioned; as well as the wars in which Spain has at various times been engaged against England, and in which she has suffered great losses compensated by few advantages.

Some historical remarks on the progress of society, will be more interesting, than a useless repetition of the unimportant particulars of fluctuating politics and indecisive campaigns.

The eye of the reader is already fatigued with a view of those wars, which, during so many centuries, depopulated Spain; and afterwards, under the princes of the house of Austria, drained her of men and of money, in prosecuting foreign quarrels and supporting schemes of ambition. It would be happy if the history of her national improvement presented a more pleasing picture. None such, however, is afforded. In taking a retrospective view of Spain, at the time of the conquest of Grenada, when the subjection of the Moors and the discovery of America concurred to open to the kingdoms, governed by Ferdinand and Isabella, prospects so vast and magnificent, and followed by consequences so extraordinary, producing an influx of wealth, unparalleled in the annals of the world, we feel ourselves obliged to confess, that Providence never afforded such advantages to any other nation. By a prudent attention of her government to internal affairs, instead of constantly involving itself in political intrigues, and indulging in mad projects of ambition, Spain might have been rendered the richest, and the happiest nation in the world. It is certain that the Moors had important manufactures, and for that age a flourishing commerce. The splendid remains of Moorish magnificence, in those cities that were once the capitals of their different kingdoms, are evidences of their former wealth. It is also evident that, in states, restricted to so narrow an extent of territory, no great degree of opulence could either be acquired or maintained, without a considerable trade. The Spaniards were not a nation of manufacturers and traders, but of warriors; in all the different kingdoms of Spain, which were gradually wrested from the Moors, the manufactures were chiefly carried on by the remains of the conquered people.

In the fifteenth, and even in the sixteenth century, Spain had very considerable manufactures, and much of its excellent wool seems to have been wrought up in the kingdom. Toledo, Seville, Grenada, and several other places, were famous for their manufactures of silk and wool. These circumstances naturally recall the attention to the expulsion of

the Moors and Jews; and point out that memorable instance of political error and moral injustice as the death stroke of the Spanish trade. A succession of unwise measures adopted by government, has followed up the blow. America unfolded her treasures to support the greatness of Spain, which domestic mismanagement was ruining at home; but even the resources of the new world could not counterbalance the pernicious effects of the impolitic measures of the court, and the want of industry among the people. No sooner did the rich productions of the colonies begin to flow into Spain, than restrictions were imposed upon that trade, as if the government had formed a systematic plan to prevent it from being beneficial to the kingdom. It has been the general policy of all European nations, to confine to their own subjects the benefits of commercial intercourse with their colonies. But Spain carried this system of restriction much farther than any of her neighbours. When the first conquests were completed, and a trade with America was established, it was laid open to all the Castilian subjects; but with an injunction of bringing their cargoes into the port of Seville, under the penalties of confiscation and death. This restriction was soon after applied to the clearances outward; and all vessels, freighted for the colonies, were obliged to sail from, as well as return to, that emporium of American commerce. The consequence was, that the influence of its wealthy inhabitants was able to prevent any new arrangement. The Guadalquiver becoming at last unfit for the navigation of large vessels, the monopoly, with all its attendant circumstances of exclusive accumulation, was in 1720, transferred from Seville to Cadiz. But the restrictive system proceeded still farther. The principal inhabitants of Seville, being enriched by the monopoly, constantly endeavoured to confine it to a smaller number of individuals; and the wealth, which they had already acquired, gave them an influence that rendered their efforts successful.

The great mercantile houses, possessing the exclusive privileges of supplying America with European commodities,

naturally desired, that this supply should be as scanty as possible, in order to keep up high prices. The crown, at the same time, levying its imposts, ad valorem, on the colonial trade, was likewise interested in diminishing the extent of the exportation. The king drew as much revenue, and the merchants as much profit, from a scanty, as they could have drawn from a plentiful supply; and the latter saved a great deal of expense in the article of freightage. On these principles, the whole trade between Spain and her colonies was regulated. The number of galleons for the supply of Terra Firma, Peru, and Chili, was limited to twenty-seven ships, which sailed once a year for Porto Bello. The flota, destined for the supply of Mexico, and the northern colonies, consisted of no more than twenty-three ships; and it sailed only once in three years to Vera Cruz. No person was permitted to load any goods, in either of these fleets, without a licence from the Board of Commerce at Seville; and the same regulation was observed in regard to landing colonial merchandise on their return. The same restrictive system was extended to the distribution of the supplies. The colonies were prohibited, under severe penalties, not only from holding any communication with foreigners, or with Spanish vessels not belonging to the periodical fleets, but even from trading with one another. Neither Peru nor Terra Firma could receive any supplies from Mexico, or from the islands. The Spanish and colonial merchants were permitted to meet only at the stated periods, and at three points of the continent, Carthagena, Porto Bello, and Vera Cruz, and the Havanna, the general rendezvous of all the fleets, previous to their return.* These restrictions, with the heavy duties imposed by government, raised the price of commodities, exported to, and imported from the colonies, to an exorbitant height, and introduced a system of smuggling, more regular and extensive, than ever existed in any other branch of commerce. In this contraband trade, foreigners, colonists, and Spaniards,

* Brougham's Col. Pol. vol. I. book 1. sec. 3.

were mutually interested; but almost all its benefits ultimately centered in foreign nations. The English alone, were at one period supposed to possess, by this means, as great a share of the colonial commerce of Spain, as the authorised traders of the mother country. The monopolists of Seville, in consequence, found their profits greatly reduced by this competition of contraband traders; the revenue, which the crown derived from the duties, was proportionably diminished, and the great, but fruitless expense incurred by government, in attempting to suppress this traffic, contributed to exhaust the finances and impoverish the kingdom.

The consequences of this restrictive and monopolizing system, were extremely pernicious. The colonial trade, by its high profits, naturally tended to call into exertion the labour and skill of the people; and might, perhaps, have repaired the shock which the expulsion of the Moors and Jews had given to national industry. But when the effects of the restrictive system began to be felt, a check was given to all the efforts which the colonial demand had begun to call forth. This check on industry, at first excited, in concurrence with others, daily multiplied by the wants of the colonies, and the impolicy of the government, prevented that increase of Spanish supply, which the increasing demands of the growing colonies, in spite of all the endeavours of the monopolists, required. In consequence of this impolitic mismanagement of a commerce, which might have been beneficial beyond all calculation, the industry of the people was restrained; and Spain was, at last, obliged to enrich other nations by supplying her American empire with their commodities, and to content herself with the profits arising from commission, freight, and customs.

The internal regulations were not less calculated to impoverish the kingdom, and to check every species of industry. Almost all the taxes levied in Spain were of a ruinous nature, the expenses of collecting them enormous, and the discretionary powers vested in the collectors extremely oppressive. The alcavala y cientos, a heavy duty on every con-

tract of sale, whatever may be the nature or value of the commodity, is, perhaps, one of the most effectual methods of checking industry; of cramping trade; of stunting the growth of natural opulence, that political folly ever devised. Catalonia and Arragon have, by the payment of a moderate composition, long since freed themselves from the alcavala; and the consequences of that arrangement may be perceived in the flourishing state of their manufactures and agriculture. To all these checks on trade and industry, may be added the royal monopolies. These, indeed, are not peculiar to Spain; but in no other country, perhaps, are they so oppressive. The extent of the grievance may be calculated from the extent of the contraband trade, its natural consequence.

Many other circumstances, which have a tendency to check the progress of Spanish manufactures and trade, might be enumerated; but these are the most obvious, and perhaps the most important. It is but justice to say, that the princes of the house of Bourbon have gradually reformed many abuses, and greatly improved the state of the kingdom, in regard both to its internal and its colonial policy. In the year 1765, the trade of the West India islands was laid open to most of the principal ports of Spain, and to all Spanish subjects. After several successive and gradual reforms, the trade of Mexico was, in the year 1788, laid open to all Spanish subjects, and the commercial affairs of Spain, and her colonies, were placed on the same footing as those of other European nations.

The bloody and tumultuous scenes in which Spain, for many centuries, was involved, had not so fatal an effect on letters as on commerce. The national genius burst through all barriers. The literary history of this country is too little known among foreigners. Alphonso X. king of Castile, was the glory and wonder of his age; Garcilassa ennobl d Castilian poetry; and no writer, perhaps, was ever more honoured than Lopez de Vega.

Spain, after remaining more than two centuries in a debilitated state, has at last begun to exhibit herself in a man-

ner worthy of the ancient Castilian spirit. The origin of this great and unexpected revolution, is at present involved in mysterious obscurity; but all its prominent features bear the visible impression of French contrivance and influence. About the end of October 1807, the prince of Asturias was accused of a conspiracy against his father, the reigning monarch. The king, it is said, having received information of the design, seized the prince, his son, in the royal apartment, and found upon him the cipher of his correspondence, containing the clearest evidence of the conspiracy. That the prince should bring with him into his father's room the documents of a parricidal conspiracy, appears somewhat mysterious, and has very much the appearance of a political intrigue. The papers were said to be found sewed up in the lining of his royal highness's coat. The whole of this obscure transaction warrants the suspicion of a scheme to entrap the prince of Asturias, and to impose on the king, for the purpose of destroying them both; and that suspicion is confirmed by the result.

While the court and city of Madrid were agitated by these dark and atrocious intrigues, the French, as friends and allies, under the pretext of invading Portugal, were marching their troops into Spain; securing the strong places, and taking such positions as were most favourable for controlling the natives. The prince of Asturias, in the mean while, undergoing a public examination, is said to have exculpated himself of any criminal design against his father's life or government. Affairs now seemed to be settled, but the calm was only the prelude to an important revolution, which commenced in the following manner.

About the middle of March 1808, a report began to gain ground, that the king of Spain was about to retire to Mexico. This design appears to have originated with the prince of Peace, who began to apprehend the downfall of his own power. The intended emigration of the royal family being known, the city of Madrid presented, during the space of five or six days, a scene of the utmost confusion. The court

was then at Aranjuez; and the Spanish guards being ordered to march from Madrid to that place, were prevented by the populace. Handbills were circulated, stating the danger to which the country was exposed; and crowds of peasants hurried to Aranjuez. These commotions ended in preventing the departure of the king: the palaces of the prince of Peace and of some other obnoxious ministers were pillaged, and the furniture burnt in the streets. The prince made his escape, but was discovered and brought back a prisoner; and his brother, Don Diego Godoi, commandant of the king's body guards, was arrested by his own soldiers. On the 19th of March, his Catholic majesty published a decree, by which he abdicated his throne in favour of his son, the prince of Asturias, who assumed the name of Ferdinand VII. and on the following day, issued an order for the confiscation of the estates and goods of the prince of Peace.

During these scenes of confusion, the royal family went to Bayonne, and the French emperor was silently taking possession of Spain. His first public act of authority was to annul the proceedings of the 19th of March, by obliging Ferdinand VII. to resign, and replacing Charles IV. on the throne. The news of this counter-revolution was no sooner received at Madrid, than all was in commotion. On the second of May, the insurrection of the populace became general; and the duke of Berg, who commanded the French troops in the capital, narrowly escaped with his life. The possession of the arsenal was one of the principal objects of the insurgents, and many of them fell in the attempt. At length the artillery with grape shot, cleared the streets, and tranquillity was restored in the city. On the following day, a military commission was appointed for trying the prisoners taken in arms; and about one hundred and thirty were doomed to immediate execution.

All these court intrigues, and popular commotions, were only preliminaries to a more important revolution. The royal family of Spain, with many of the grandees of the court, being at Bayonne, and wholly in the power of the French em-

peror, the two kings, Charles IV. and Ferdinand VII. were compelled to abdicate the throne, and the infants, Don Carlos, and Don Antonio, at the same time, renounced all their rights of succession. These abdications and renunciations were declared to be voluntary; but Spain and all Europe, justly regarded them as the effect of compulsion. Thus the emperor of the French, under the mask of alliance and friendship, subverted the throne of the Bourbons in Spain; and having appointed the duke of Berg, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, conferred the crown on his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, whom he had already made king of Naples. An imperial decrèe was then issued, commanding the bishops, the grandees, and the deputies of provinces, to repair to Bayonne, in order to fix the basis of the new government. This decree of the French emperor was communicated by the duke of Berg to the Supreme Council of Castile; but only a few of the persons summoned, attended the assembly at Bayonne.

The news of the forced renunciation of the crown by all the royal family, proved the signal of universal opposition to the views of France. The province of Asturias, famous for the stand which the Spanish nation made in that mountainous region against the conquering Arabs, in the eighth century, was instantly in a state of insurrection; and the flame was immediately communicated to Gallicia, and to several districts of Leon. The general assembly at Oviedo, nominated the marquis of Santa Cruz, general of the patriotic army, and sent viscount Materosa, a nobleman of considerable influence, on a deputation to England, for the purpose of requesting assistance. On his arrival at London, the affair was laid before the British cabinet, which came to a prompt determination to support the Spanish patriots. The council of Seville, at the same time, rejecting the orders of the Supreme Council of Madrid, as being under the control of foreigners, assumed an authority in the name of Ferdinand VII. and having declared war against the French emperor, armed the inhabitants of Andalusia, and appointed general Castanos commander in chief. The spirit of resistance manifested itself

in all the provinces, almost at the same period of time, and the insurrection soon became general throughout Spain. Among others, the wealthy and populous city of Cadiz, manifested the most noble and patriotic spirit: the French fleet in the harbour, after sustaining a cannonade from all the batteries, while admiral Collingwood, with a British squadron, blockaded the port, was at length obliged to surrender on the 14th of June, to the Spaniards. This signal success was followed by many other important advantages. On the 28th June, the French general, Moncey, made a desperate attack on Valencia, but was bravely repulsed by the inhabitants, without the assistance of regular troops. History scarcely records an example of greater heroism than the Valencians displayed on this occasion: the clergy of every description took arms, and even the women contributed to the defence of the city. Not less than two thousand five hundred of the assailants are said to have been found dead round the walls. The French army being attacked in its retreat by the patriots, under generals Cerbellion and Caro, was almost totally annihilated. Whatever degree of doubt may be entertained in regard to particulars, the general result is certain, that the French were expelled from the provinces of Valencia and Mercia. Saragossa, the capital of Arragon, rivalled Valencia in patriotic enthusiasm. That city, one of the strongest and most considerable in the kingdom, was attacked by general Le Febre, with an army of nearly eighteen thousand men; but after two desperate assaults, the French were completely repulsed, with prodigious loss, by the brave general Palafox.

In another quarter, however, the Spaniards were less successful. Their patriotic army, under general Cuesta, consisting of about fourteen thousand men, was defeated near Benevento, on the 14th of July, by general Lasolles, at the head of ten thousand infantry, and two hundred cavalry. The victory, indeed, was bravely contested, and the loss on both sides was considerable.

The check which the Spaniards received in this action was greatly overbalanced by their successes at Saragossa, and in the southern provinces. On the day that was marked by the defeat of the patriots near Benevento, general Le Febre having been reinforced by four thousand men from the garrison of Pampeluna, by which his force was augmented to about fifteen thousand, made another desperate attack on Saragossa, but was again repulsed.

In the mean while Dupont, one of Napoleon's favourite generals, who in the commencement of the insurrection had been detached from Madrid for the purpose of overawing the southern provinces, being informed that Seville, Carthagena, and Cadiz, had declared for Ferdinand VII. found it necessary to abandon Cordova; and took a strong position, where he was completely inclosed by the patriotic army, under general Castanos. The Spanish commander receiving intelligence that a detachment of eight thousand French was advancing from Madrid, resolved to attack Dupont, before the arrival of this reinforcement. This memorable engagement took place on the 20th of July. The victory was obstinately contested; but at length the patriots prevailed. The French were defeated with prodigious loss; and Dupont, in order to avoid complete destruction, surrendered himself, and his whole army, prisoners of war. The detachment advancing from Madrid was included in the capitulation.

While the insurrection was making so rapid a progress, Joseph Bonaparte, the newly created king, entered Spain, and arrived at Madrid on the 20th of July, the day on which general Dupont surrendered to the Andalusian patriots. The entrance of the new monarch into the capital was accompanied by illuminations, and other apparent demonstrations of joy, such as power, can always extort from the subjects of its oppression. In seven days afterwards, the new sovereign began his retreat from the capital, and retired towards the frontiers.

A general but awful pause in the war now ensued. The patriots made the most active preparations for completing

the expulsion of the enemy; while immense armies of veterans were moving through France, towards the Pyrenees. The subsequent events of this contest have been various and important, but are too recent to be detailed with accuracy in a work like the present, written at so great a distance from the scene of action. The war still continues; and the final event is only known to Him, who knows all things.

MISCELLANEOUS HISTORY.

The religion of Spain is the Roman Catholic, which, in this country, has been carried to a degree of bigotry and intolerance unknown in any other part of the world, excepting Portugal. In these two kingdoms, the inquisition has long reigned in all its horrors; and has produced the most ruinous effects. This tremendous evil has, of late, been greatly diminished. The inquisition, although not abrogated, is now laid under so many restrictions, as to render its power little more than nominal. From various circumstances, indeed, there is reason to expect that this dark and severe tribunal will, at no very distant period, be totally abolished.

The archbishoprics in Spain are eight, and the bishoprics forty-six. The whole number of clergy was once computed at two hundred thousand. The number of monks, sixty-one thousand six hundred and seventeen; that of the nuns, thirty-two thousand five hundred.

The government of Spain, formerly the most limited of any monarchical system in Europe, has, ever since the reign of Charles. V been despotic. In this, as in all other countries, despotism is balanced by various powers, and tempered by several councils; but all of them, according to the present constitution, under the absolute control of the monarch. The royal council of the Indies is a distinguishing feature in the Spanish administration. It consists of a governor, four secretaries, and about twenty-two counsellors, besides several officers. The members are generally chosen

from among the viceroys and other magistrates, who have served in America, and their decision is final, in regard to every thing relating to the colonies.

The system of law and police has always been worse in Spain, than in any other nation of modern Europe. In no part is the security of person and property less firmly established; the privileges of municipal magistrates more extensive or more injurious to the public; the corruption of the officers of justice more frequent; or the criminal laws so carelessly executed. In no part of Europe are the roads more infested with robbers. All travellers have noticed the dangers arising from this cause; and all writers, native and foreign, agree in their representation of the bad police of Spain.

The Spanish armies, about three centuries ago, carried victory and terror into every country, in which they displayed their banners. Previous to the late insurrections, although their native valour remained, they had ceased to be formidable, either by numbers or discipline. In time of peace the military force was estimated at about sixty thousand; but it is difficult to calculate to what number it might be augmented in case of emergency. Recent events have proved that Spain is a country in which efficient armies may easily be raised.

The navy of Spain was once no less formidable than her army; but it afterwards fell to decay, and was almost annihilated by successive wars with the English, the Dutch and the French. Of late, the Spanish government has paid great attention to its marine. It has, however, suffered extremely in the late and present wars with the English; and, its strength at the present period cannot be well ascertained. Had Spain continued at peace with Great Britain, her naval power would, next to the English, have probably been, at this time, the greatest in Europe.

The revenue of Spain has been by some estimated at 7,000,000*l.* sterling. The sums raised on Spain by taxation are not very great; but the injudicious modes of imposing and collecting the taxes, in concurrence with other impolitic measures, have been ruinous to the kingdom.

In regard to geographical situation and natural advantages, no country can be better adapted to commerce than Spain; and nothing but a most impolitic government could have ruined a trade that was once so flourishing. At present Spain exports wines, oil, fruits, silk, and leather, with a little broad cloth, and various other articles to different countries of Europe. But her principal trade is with her American colonies; although she is supposed to gain little by that intercourse; for the gold and silver, imported from America, immediately flows to those nations which supply Spain with the manufactured goods in which her returns are made. An exhibition of the exports and imports for the year 1784, copied from Mr. Townsend's work, will afford a distinct view of the trade of Spain with America. This statement is as follows:

Exports, from,	Spanish produce.	Foreign produce.
Cadiz,	£1,438,912	£2,182,531
Malaga,	196,379	14,301
Seville,	62,713	30,548
Barcelona,	122,631	21,240
Corunna,	64,575	39,962
San Andero,	36,715	90,113
Tortosa,	7,669	289
Canaries,	24,974	
Gijon,	4,281	10,190
	Sterling, £1,958,849	Sterling, £2,389,169

Imports from America, to Spain.

	In money and jewels.	In merchandize.
Cadiz,	£8,297,164	£2,990,757
Malaga,		18,605
Barcelona,	102,140	91,233
Corunna,	741,283	90,001
San Andero,	40,843	100,974
Canaries,	109,807	52,366
	Sterling, £9,291,237	Sterling, £3,343,936

The duties on this trade amounted to no more than half a million. Wines and other raw productions of the country, are exported; but almost all the foreign produce sent to America consists of manufactured goods.

The manufactures of Spain, once so celebrated, have declined still more than her foreign trade. Her government of late, has strenuously endeavoured to promote their revival; but they are considerably checked by the royal monopolies which extend to the following articles: cards at Madrid and Malaga; saltpetre at Madrid, and several other places; china at Buen Retiro; glass at St. Idefonso; swords, &c. at Toledo; broadcloth at Guadalajara, and Brihuega; paper at Segovia; pottery and tissue at Talavera; and stockings at Valdemoro. The crown has also the monopoly of gunpowder, lead, quicksilver, salt, sulphur, sealing wax, brandy, and tobacco. As no private capital can be able to vie with the treasury, all royal manufactures may be regarded as monopolies. In countries where traffic is despised by the great, royal manufactures may have a tendency to bring commerce into repute, by setting a laudable example of industrious speculation. But it does not appear that in Spain they have produced that effect. Several manufactures, however, have of late been carried on with spirit.

Spain excels in several materials for a grand manufacturing system. Her wool is the finest in the world, and her iron is excellent and plentiful. Spain also surpasses all other countries in the exuberant production of saltpetre and barilla; and the native American productions, cotton, indigo, sugar, cocoa, cochineal, mahogany, &c. are of the greatest importance.

The population of Spain is computed at ten or eleven millions. The greatest of these numbers amounts to only seventy-four per square mile.* This striking deficiency of population has been made the subject of repeated investigation. The

* Townsend's Travels. vol. 3. p. 131. The population of England is reckoned at 169; of France at 174; and of the Batavian kingdom about 275; per square mile.

causes, which are generally assigned, are the incessant wars carried on during the space of seven centuries against the Moors; the great plague, which, about the middle of the fourteenth century, made such havoc throughout Europe; pestilential diseases frequent in the southern provinces; the expulsion of the Jews, after the conquest of Grenada, and of the Moors by Philip III. the emigrations to America; the numerous clergy; and the habit, which the Spanish gentry have adopted, of crowding into towns, instead of spreading themselves over the country. Each of these would require a separate dissertation. That the long continued wars, the expulsion of the Jews and Moors, the epidemical sickness of the southern provinces, and the plague of 1348, were severe checks to population cannot be denied. Italy and other countries, however, have long ago recovered from the depopulation caused by that pestilence. But in Spain, that calamity prepared the way for political evils, which have ever since been severely felt. Two thirds of the whole population were suddenly swept away, and many of the villages, being left totally destitute of inhabitants, the survivors in others obtained possession of vast tracts of waste land. The grounds of several villages and towns were united in one domain, and became a public pasture. Hence proceeds the great extent of commons in most parts of Spain, by which that country is distinguished from all others in Europe. The grandees also obtained, at the same time, enormous grants of land. These pernicious arrangements have proved impediments to agriculture, and consequently to population. To this may also be added the sheep system, already mentioned. But the number of the clergy is a circumstance usual to all Catholic countries; and, less than three centuries ago, was common to all Europe. Several countries, professing the same religion, are at this day populous, opulent, and flourishing. The kingdom of Naples, which is not less attached to the Catholic religion than Spain, and in which the clergy compose as great a proportion of the people, is supposed to have two hundred inhabitants, per square mile, a population great-

ly superior to that of England or any other country of Europe, except the kingdom of Batavia. Writers generally agree, that the colonization of America has been fatal to the population of Spain; but a judicious author, by a masterly train of reasoning, combats this general theory, and labours to prove that not above five hundred thousand persons have, in the space of three centuries, emigrated from Spain to America, a number which would certainly produce little effect upon the great mass of population. This writer ascribes all the misfortunes of Spain to the impolitic measures of her government.

The political importance of Spain was, at one period, seriously felt in almost every region of the globe. But the ambition, the avarice, and the impolicy of her rulers, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, exhausted her immense resources, and annihilated her preponderating power. As the discoverer of America, Spain possessed herself of the most valuable part of that continent; but, from mismanagement, the boon has proved a curse, instead of a blessing. The interests of humanity, at present, imperiously require that the former system should be exchanged for one founded on liberty and independence. This, with an free communication between the gulf of Mexico and the Pacific ocean, would shortly produce the most extensively beneficial consequences.

The Spanish language is a mixture of Latin, Gothic, and Arabic. It is grave, sonorous, and exquisitely melodious. No European language, unless we except the Portuguese, which is a sister dialect, is perhaps so well adapted to rhetoric, or to epic, or tragic poetry. During the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II. the Spanish was the fashionable language of Europe. It was spoken at Paris, at Vienna, at Milan, and at Turin. But about the commencement of the seventeenth century, the language as well as the fashions of France began to obtain the pre-eminence.

The literature of Spain is a copious subject. During the Moorish domination, a great number of Arabian and Jewish

authors of distinguished eminence flourished in that country. Since the first dawn of letters in Europe, the Spanish writers have been numerous and equal in merit to their contemporaries. Isidore of Seville may be reckoned the father of Spanish literature. Alphonso the wise, king of Castile, in the thirteenth century, and John I. king of Castile, in the fifteenth century, merit a place among the patrons and restorers of literature. Many of the early Spanish monarchs encouraged learning and genius. If we except natural philosophy, the progress of which has been checked by the terrors of the inquisition, the Spaniards of a more modern period have distinguished themselves in every department of literature. The works of Cervantes, Quevedo, Santillana, Garcilasso, and Lopez de Vega, are celebrated throughout Europe. The names of Boyer, and Feejoo, have recently attracted the attention and respect of the learned; and the line of royal authors has not yet failed; an elegant translation of Sallust having been recently published by one of the younger sons of Charles IV. the late king.

In the polite arts, the Spaniards have also discovered an elevated genius. The number of native painters is great, and their merits unquestionable. Many of their works adorn the magnificent churches and palaces of Spain.

The education of the lower classes appears to be neglected. But Spain boasts of upwards of twenty universities, of which, that of Salamanca is the most celebrated. As the system of Aristotle in philosophy and logic, and of Thomas Aquinas in theology, continue inviolate, neither this, nor any of the other Spanish universities, can be supposed to contribute in any great degree to the advancement of knowledge. The distinguished merit of the Spanish writers therefore, is rather the effect of native genius than of previous instruction. After all, literature is far from being generally diffused in Spain. Publications are rare, in consequence of the inquisitorial restrictions which have so long cramped the exertions of the human mind.

The manners of the Spaniards are distinguished by their ceremonious formality. Since the accession of the family of Bourbon, a slight tincture of French manners has been blended with the Spanish gravity; but much less than might be expected. Cicisbeism is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Spanish as well as of the Italian morals, with this difference however, that in Italy, the Cicisbei are commonly gentlemen; but in Spain, very frequently monks, and ecclesiastics fill that office. The bull fights have been justly regarded as a striking feature of the Spanish and Portuguese diversions. Every town of note in Spain and Portugal has a spacious square destined to this amusement. The chief actors in them are the Picadores mounted on horse back, and armed with lances, and the Chulos on foot. These two classes of assailants sustain and relieve each other in their attacks on the bull. Some of them are persons who make this their profession, and perform their parts for hire; others are young gentlemen and nobles, who thus exhibit their courage and dexterity, and recommend themselves to their mistresses. The Matador finishes the scene, by dispatching the bull with a blow, in the place where the spinal marrow joins to the head. Sometimes they throw a rope over his head and entangle him in a strong net, after the manner in which wild bulls are hunted in America. The amusements of people of rank consist, chiefly, in dancing and cards. The theatre is little frequented. The siesta, or afternoon sleep, is universal in Spain and Portugal, during which time of repose, all is as still as at midnight.

The Spaniards are generally tall and strong, and less inclined to corpulence than any other people of Europe. They are remarkably active and vigorous; extremely abstemious, and capable of bearing great extremes of heat and cold. With regard to their genius, enough has been said to show, that, in this respect, the Spaniards are equal to any nation of the globe. The Spanish character is on many accounts highly respectable. Their intolerant bigotry as well as their violent jealousy have greatly abated. The most pernicious trait in

the national character is the pride of birth and ancestry, and the aversion which the nobility and gentry have to agriculture and trade. In 1787, when the whole population of Spain according to the returns amounted to 10,268,150, exclusive of the clergy, the kingdom contained no less than 480,589 hidalgos or persons of noble birth; and of these 401,040 were in the provinces of the Asturias, Biscay, Gallicia, Burgos, and Leon.* Great numbers of these were very poor; but all too proud to engage in agricultural or commercial pursuits. This national pride is counterbalanced by many excellent qualities. Generosity, courage, and greatness of mind, characterise the higher ranks of Spaniards; and their traders are celebrated for their integrity.

*Townsend's Travels vol. 2. p. 213, 214.

PORTUGAL.

PORTUGAL is situated in about the same latitude as Virginia, and the three states adjoining her on the north; extends about three hundred geographical miles in length, from north to south, and about one hundred in breadth; and its contents are computed to be nearly thirty-two thousand square miles. It is bounded by Spain on the north and east; and on the south and west by the Atlantic ocean.

The face of the country has, in general, an agreeable appearance, although it is not in a high state of cultivation. Its general aspect is mountainous. The Sierra d'Estrella, in the province of Beira, is the most elevated chain; but its height is estimated at no more than six thousand feet. Near its summit is a beautiful lake of an almost circular form, which, from its romantic situation, completely enclosed among high and rugged rocks, that throw a dark shade over its waters, has received the name of Lago Escura.

Portugal has no rivers of note, except those which traverse it in passing from Spain to the ocean. The Tagus, after its entrance into Portugal, becomes a noble stream, and its vast estuary forms the capacious harbour of Lisbon, as the Doura does that of Oporto.

The soil of Portugal presents many barren and sandy heaths in the plains, and fertile valleys among the mountains. The higher parts of the latter, afford extensive pastures for cattle, and their declivities exhibit corn-fields and vineyards.

The climate is warm, dry, and very salubrious. At Lisbon, the days of fair weather throughout the year are computed at three hundred on an average, and the medial heat at about sixty degrees.

The Portuguese peasantry are not deficient in industry; their principal defect is the want of agricultural skill, and of

proper implements of husbandry. The corn, instead of being threshed, is trodden out by oxen. Olive trees abound in most parts of Portugal; but the vineyards are the most important feature of Portuguese husbandry. Their culture supports a very considerable part of the population, and supplies a staple article of trade; for vast quantities, not only of port wine from the banks of the upper Doura, but also of that of Carcavelos, near Lisbon, and of those of St. Ubes, are exported to foreign countries. The tract of land, which produces the port wine, is somewhat more than four geographical miles in length, by three in breadth, and in 1781, contained a population of forty-four thousand six hundred and sixty, in twelve thousand eight hundred and ninety-five houses. The annual produce of wine was reckoned at ninety thousand pipes. No port wine designed for exportation is free from brandy. Almost all the Portuguese wines have some quantity of it added to them before they ferment. It is said to be impossible to preserve them without this addition.* The wine, as soon as it is made, is conveyed to Oporto, where it remains in warehouses three years before it is exported. The company of the upper Doura, established in 1756, has, if not an absolute, at least an indirect monopoly of this trade. They are obliged to take the wine from the farmers at a fixed price; but if the grower can sell it to greater advantage, he may dispose of it as he pleases, on allowing the company six per cent; but the most restrictive circumstance attending this institution is, that an account having been taken of the produce of each vineyard, during five years, no person was permitted to sell a larger quantity, either to the company or to any one else. Thus the increase of this species of husbandry is entirely stopped, and the quantity of port wine regulated according to the demand. Portugal abounds in figs and oranges, with various other fruits; but timber is scarce, and few forests are seen, except on the ridges and declivities of mountains.

* Link's Travels, p. 374.

Cows are rare, and little butter is produced. Oil is used, however, as a substitute. The sheep are neglected, and few in number. They range about like those of Spain, descending into the plains in September, and returning in May to the mountains. Their wool is in fineness, next to that of Spain, and with care, might, perhaps, be improved to an equality.

Lisbon, the capital of the kingdom of Portugal, is situated on the banks of the Tagus, in 38° 42′ north latitude. It stands upon three hills, and is certainly one of the finest ports in Europe. Large ships of the line can lie opposite to the city. In 1797, the number of merchant vessels that entered, was one thousand five hundred and twenty-six. Lisbon may, therefore, be reckoned the second port in Europe, being next to London, and superior to Amsterdam. The origin of Lisbon is not marked in history. Its aggrandisement first arose from the Portuguese discoveries, and conquests in Africa and the East, and its commercial greatness is supported by the rich colony of Brazil.

The population of the Portuguese metropolis may be confidently estimated at more than three hundred thousand, exclusive of the military.

The police of this metropolis is very defective. Of this, the extreme dirtiness of the streets, and still more the number of robberies and murders committed in the city and its environs are evident proofs. The boldness with which these crimes are committed is astonishing. Almost every night, at certain periods, is marked with murder, which is generally the consequence of jealousy or revenge; for robbers mostly content themselves with menaces. Many of these are negroes, of whom there is a greater number than in any other city of Europe. Every negro who has served his master seven years in Europe, becomes free by the law of Portugal. The number of vagabonds of all descriptions, in Lisbon, is almost incredible. Idle and disorderly persons, from all parts of Portugal, come in torrents to the metropolis, where the police suffers them to remain without molestation and hence proceed the multitudes of beggars, that infest the

streets. The common people of Lisbon and the environs are, in general, a robust and hardy race, being capable of supporting great fatigue, with very scanty fare.

The society of Lisbon is dull and melancholy, when compared with that of Paris or London, or even with that of Madrid, and other great cities of Spain. Here, as well as in Spain, the bull fights are one of the principal amusements of all ranks of people.

The Portuguese capital is not destitute of scientific and literary institutions. The first in importance is the academy of sciences, founded by the present queen. There is also a geographical academy, an academy of marine, and another of fortification. Lisbon possesses also some public libraries, together with museums, botanical gardens, and several observatories, but the latter are of little importance, and badly furnished with instruments.

The environs of Lisbon consist entirely of hills, which particularly on the east and north sides, are for the most part covered with extensive gardens, and surrounded with high walls. The flora in the vicinity of Lisbon is extremely rich. The trees are chiefly the olive and orange. One of the latter frequently bears 1500, and sometimes 2000 oranges. At Lisbon they are not very cheap, but in many of the provinces the best may be had at a farthing sterling each. Close to the north side of Lisbon, is that grand work of art, the aqueduct, by which water is brought to the city from some springs at the distance of nine miles. Its length is near half a mile, and it is planned with great magnificence. When the water enters the town it is divided into several other aqueducts, which supply the fountains. A little to the north west of Lisbon, arise the high and peaked mountains of Cintra. To a certain height, the sides of the hills are covered with country houses dispersed among charming gardens and shady woods of the finest trees. In the months of August and September, when every thing is parched up with heat, the citizens of Lisbon enjoy a charming retreat in those mountains, abounding as they do with water, verdure, and shade. On

the south side of the Tagus, notwithstanding the sandiness of the soil, and the continual succession of extensive heaths and forests of pines, one village follows another in close approximation, being generally supported by the traffic carried on with Lisbon. In the space of less than twenty miles, there are ten considerable market towns, besides numerous villages and hamlets. Lisbon is the focus and principal scene of the wealth and splendor of Portugal.

Portugal did not rank as a kingdom until the year 1139, when Alphonsus I. gained that memorable victory over five Moorish princes, which procured him the honour of being proclaimed king on the field of battle; a victory which Camoens has celebrated by a fine poetical description.*

Alphonsus I. the founder of the Portuguese monarchy, was a successful prince. In 1148, having procured the assistance of a fleet of Croisaders, he wrested Lisbon out of the hands of the Moors. He died A. D. 1185, upwards of ninety years of age, after a long and prosperous reign. Portugal was fortunate in a succession of able princes, who continually gained ground on the Moors. But the long history of those barbarian wars, besides being obscurely related by historians, is uninteresting to modern times. Among these kings, however, must not be omitted the name of Deniz I. who having rebuilt the ruined cities of Portugal, and founded the university of Coimbra, received the title of the father of his country, and may really be considered as the parent of Portuguese literature. But it was not till the reign of John I. about A. D. 1410, that Portugal began to acquire celebrity by her discoveries, which led to conquests that enriched her people, and extended her dominions from the Tagus to China.

Don Henry, his third son, a prince of distinguished abilities and extensive views, gave the first impulse to that spirit of discovery, which afterwards operated a grand revolution in the commerce of Europe. His bold and enlightened genius projected a scheme for the improvement of geography

* Camoens' Lusiad, Cant. 3.

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and navigation, and for extending the influence of Portugal beyond the narrow limits to which it was then confined. He established an observatory, and a marine academy, where several persons were instructed in astronomy, and the nautical arts. The navigators formed under his eye, and sailing under his auspices, advanced along the African coast as far as Cape Bajadore, Cape Blanco, Cape Verd, and at last Cape Sierra Leone, within eight degrees of the equator. His death, which happened in 1463, did not extinguish the spirit of enterprise with which he had inspired his countrymen. In the course of these voyages, the islands of Cape Verd, and the Azores, had been discovered, and the introduction of the vine, and the sugar cane, into Madeira, had rendered that island a valuable acquisition. In the reign of John II. a prince of profound sagacity and extensive views, the Portuguese pursued their discoveries with ardour and success. In Africa, they made easy and extensive conquests, built forts, and established a lucrative commerce. In the still infant state of navigation, however, they continued to creep, but slowly, along the coasts of Africa, and from their first voyage of discovery sixty-six years elapsed, before captain Bartholomew Dias reached the extreme point of that continent. The Portuguese terrified at the sight of a turbulent ocean, rolling mountains high, and seemingly torn up by tempestuous winds from the bottom of its profound abyss, were afraid of proceeding any further, and named this southernmost promontory of Africa, Cabo de los Tormentos, or the Cape of Storms. But the king who saw more clearly the importance of the discovery, styled it Cabo de bonne Esperanza, or the Cape of Good Hope.

The Portuguese had already made a vast addition to the former extent of geographical knowledge, and to the natural history of the human race. They had penetrated through the torrid zone; and, contrary to their expectations, had found its scorching regions replete with inhabitants. This extensive tract of the globe had by the ancients been considered as parched up by excessive heat, and perpetual aridity, and

uninhabitable by human beings. The Portuguese navigators had exploded these errors, and discovered a new race of men, whose jet black color, and singular features, excited their astonishment. Hitherto indeed their painful voyages had tended rather to excite curiosity, than to gratify avarice. The completion of the grand project, however, was not far distant. Emanuel I. succeeding John II. pursued with ardor the views of his predecessors. To complete the passage to India by sea, he sent out a squadron of four ships, under the command of Vasco di Gama. This great navigator doubled the formidable cape, till then the utmost point of nautical enterprize; and, after being assailed by furious tempests, ranged along the eastern coast of Africa; touched at the city of Melinda, and received from the king of that place, all the information necessary for the prosecution of his voyage. Pursuing his course through unknown seas, he arrived at last, at the city of Calicut on the Malabar coast, which was then the great emporium of India and the Oriental Islands. The commerce of this port was then at its height. The Arabs resorted thither for the rich productions, and curious manufactures of the East, which they carried to the ports of the Red Sea. They then conveyed them by caravans through Egypt, and sold them to Italian merchants at Alexandria. At Calicut the adventurers met with a Moor, a native of Barbary, who understood the Portuguese language, and proved a useful agent. By his assistance, Gama obtained an audience of the Samorin or emperor, and began to negotiate a treaty of commerce. But the artful insinuations of the Arabs induced the Samorin to break off the negotiations, and inspired him with the ungenerous resolution of putting to death those bold navigators. Fortunately matters were brought to an accommodation, and Gama returned safe to Lisbon.* The in-

* Prince Henry, the projector of this voyage, was well acquainted with history; and his turn of mind peculiarly enabled him to make practical observations upon it. The wealth and power of ancient Tyre and Carthage, showed him, what a maritime nation might hope for; and the flourishing colonies of the Greeks were the frequent topics of his conversation. His

terest and disposition of the Moors, the masters of the eastern seas pointed out to Emanuel the necessity of vigorous measures, without which he could not expect to reap either honour or advantage from the discovery of India.

projects for the extension of commerce were powerfully invigorated by religion. He professed, that to propagate the gospel was the great purpose of his enterprises. With his own hand, he gave to Gama the colors which he was to carry. On this banner, which bore the cross, Gama took the oath of fidelity.

About four miles from Lisbon there is a chapel on the sea side. To this, the day before their departure, Gama, about to encounter an untried ocean, conducted the companions of his expedition. The whole night was spent in devotional exercises. On the next day, when the adventurers marched to the ship, the shore presented a most solemn and affecting scene. The beach was covered with the inhabitants of Lisbon. A numerous procession of priests, in their robes, sung anthems, and offered up prayers to heaven. Every one regarded the adventurers as brave and innocent men rushing upon certain death. The vast multitude caught the fire of devotion and joined aloud in supplications for success. The relations, friends, and acquaintance of the voyagers wept, all were affected, and the sigh was general. Gama, himself, shed some manly tears on parting with his friends, but he hurried over the tender scene, and hastened aboard with all the alacrity of hope. Immediately he gave his sails to the wind: so much affected were the thousands who beheld his departure, that many of them remained immoveable on the shore, till the fleet, under full sail, vanished from their sight.

It was on the 8th of July, when Gama left the Tagus. The flag ship was commanded by himself, the second by his brother, the third by Coello, and the store ship by Gonsalo Nunio. Several interpreters, skilled in the Ethiopian, Arabic, and other oriental languages, went with them. Ten malefactors, men of abilities, whose sentences of death were reversed, on condition of their obedience to Gama in whatever embassies or dangers among the barbarians he might think proper to employ them, were also on board. The fleet, favoured by the weather, passed the Canary and Cape de Verde islands, but had soon to encounter other misfortunes. Sometimes stopped by dead calms, but for the most part tost by tempests, which encreased in violence as they proceeded to the south. Thus driven far to sea they laboured through that wide ocean, which surrounds St. Helena, in seas unknown to the Portuguese discoverers, none of whom had ever before sailed so far to the west. For ninety-two days they were not gratified with the sight of land. In this voyage, the heroism of Gama was greatly displayed. The waves swelled like mountains in height; the ships seemed now heaved up to the clouds,

A fleet, therefore, of 13 vessels, and 1500 men, sailed from the Tagus for India, under the command of Alvarez de Cabral. In keeping out to sea, in order to avoid the calms on

and now precipitated to the bed of the ocean. The wind was piercing cold and so boisterous, that the pilot's voice could seldom be heard, and a dismal darkness added all its horrors. The sailors, wearied out with fatigue, and abandoned to despair, surrounded Gama, and implored him not to suffer himself, and those committed to his care, to perish by so dreadful a death. The impossibility that men, so much weakened, could resist much longer, and the opinion that this ocean was torn by eternal tempests, and was, therefore impassable, were strongly urged. But Gama's resolution to proceed was unalterable. A formidable conspiracy was then formed against his life, but his brother discovered it; and the courage and prudence of Gama, defeated its design. He put the chief conspirators, and all the pilots in irons; and he, himself, his brother, Coello, and some others, stood night and day at the helm. At last, after having many days withstood the tempest, and an enraged mutiny, the storm suddenly ceased, and they beheld the Cape of Good Hope.

On the 20th day of November, the whole fleet doubled that promontory, and steering northward coasted along a rich and beautiful shore, adorned with large forests, and numberless herds of cattle. All now was alacrity. A hope that they had surmounted every danger revived their spirits, and the admiral was again beloved and admired. Gama sailed along the eastern coast of Africa, and occasionally landed some of his men. The inhabitants were found to be Mahometan Arabs. Besides the hatred of the Christian name inspired by their religion, these had other reasons to wish the destruction of Gama. Before this period, they were almost the only merchants of the East. Without any empire in a mother country, they were bound together by language and religion; though scattered over various regions, they were the sole masters of the Ethiopian, Arabian, and Indian seas, and had colonies in every place, convenient for trade, on these coasts. This crafty mercantile people foresaw the consequences of the arrival of Europeans, and every art was soon exerted to prevent such formidable rivals, from effecting any settlements in the East. To these Mahomedan traders the Portuguese, on account of their religion, gave the name of Moors.

Gama perceived that their jealousy of European rivals left him nothing to expect but secret treachery, and open hostility. They aimed at nothing less than the total destruction of himself, his crew, and fleet, nor were they restrained by the ties of honour in the use of means to effect their purpose. They failed in all their machinations, and the voyage was successfully terminated in two years, and two months. Of one hundred and

the African coast, and the storms of the Cape of Good Hope, this admiral was carried so far to the westward, that he discovered the rich country of Brazil, of which he took pos-

sixty men, who went out, only fifty-five returned. These were all rewarded by the king. Public thanksgivings to heaven were celebrated throughout the churches of the kingdom, and feasts, interludes, and chivalrous entertainments, demonstrated the joy of Portugal. Such are some of the prominent particulars of one of the most interesting voyages that was ever completed. In connection with the cotemporary voyages of Columbus to America, it effected a revolution in the commercial and political world. Not only Portugal, but Europe gained immensely by it. After taking into account all the wars and depredations, which are charged upon the Portuguese and other European nations, the Eastern world appears nevertheless to have derived considerable advantage from the voyage of Gama. If seas of blood have been shed by the Europeans, nothing new was introduced into India. War and depredations were no strangers on the banks of the Ganges, nor could the nature of the civil establishments of the Eastern nations, secure a lasting peace. The ambition of their native princes was only diverted into new channels. The horrid massacres, and unbounded rapine, which, according to their own annals, followed the victories of their Asiatic conquerors, were never equalled by the worst of their European masters. The ideas of patriotism, and of honour, were seldom known in the cabinets of the Eastern princes, till the arrival of the Europeans. Assassination was the usual policy of their courts, and every act of unrestrained rapine, and massacre followed the path of victory. But some of the European governors and officers have taught them, that humanity to the conquered is the best policy. The brutal ferocity of their own conquerors is now the object of their greatest dread. Long before the Europeans arrived, a failure of the crop of rice, the principal food of India, had spread the devastations of famine over the populous plains of Bengal. The Mahomedan princes, and Moorish traders, have often added all the horrors of an artificial, to a natural famine. Under European governors the distresses of the East have often been alleviated, by a generosity of conduct, and a train of resources, formerly unknown in Asia. To be sensible of the advantages which have resulted to Europe, it is necessary to review what the condition of that quarter of the globe was, before the genius of Don Henry gave birth to the spirit of modern discovery.

For several ages anterior to this period, the feudal system had degenerated into the most absolute tyranny. The barons exercised despotic authority over their vassals, and every scheme of public utility was rendered impracticable by their continual and petty wars with each other. To these they led their dependents, like dogs, to the chace. The chieftain unable

session, in the name of king Emanuel his master. Proceeding on his voyage he arrived at Calicut; had an audience of the Samorin, and a regular commerce was agreed on between the Portuguese and the Indians. This good understanding was not lasting. The Arabs again found means to prejudice the mind of the Samorin against the Europeans, who, by their indiscretions, added force to the representations of their enemies, and mutual jealousies and fears gave rise to mutual injuries. The inhabitants of Calicut took arms; killed about fifty of the Portuguese, and destroyed their magazine. In revenge for this breach of faith, Cabral destroyed all the Arabian vessels in the port; beat down a great part of the city, and set fire to the rest. The measures of the Portuguese were now totally changed, and nothing was thought of,

to read or to write his own name was exclusively possessed by the most romantic opinion of military glory, and the song of his domestic minstrel constituted his highest idea of fame. The Classics slept on the shelves of the Monasteries, while the lives of the Monks resembled that of the fattened beeves, which loaded their tables. Every branch of philosophical or of rational investigation, was unknown. Commerce, incompatible with the feudal system, was equally neglected. In the dark Monkish ages, the intercourse of the learned was as much impeded and confined as that of the merchant. A few unwieldy vessels coasted the shores of Europe; and mendicant friars, and ignorant pilgrims carried a miserable account of what was passing in the world from one monastery to another. In these uncommercial times, the failure of one crop, was severely felt; and two bad harvests together were almost insupportable. But commerce has now opened another scene; has armed government with the happiest power that can be exerted by the rulers of a nation, the power to prevent every extremity which may possibly arise from a failure of harvests; extremities, which, in former ages, were esteemed more dreadful visitations of the wrath of heaven than the pestilence itself.

The abolition of the feudal system and the establishment of that equality of mankind, which affords the protection of property, and every other incitement to industry, are the glorious gifts, which the spirit of commerce has bestowed upon Europe in general. The brutal ferocity of former ages, in consequence thereof, has vanished, and the general mind is humanised. Such are some of the consequences of a great chain of causes, which, about this time, changed the face of the world. And of this chain, the voyage of Gama was an important link.

but the establishment of commerce by the sword. Cabral entered into negotiations with several Indian princes, tributaries to the Samorin, but desirous of independence. He promised them support, and carried their ambassadors to Lisbon, where such political measures were taken as rendered success infallible. The conditions of protection imposed on those deluded princes were, that they should acknowledge themselves vassals of the crown of Portugal, sell their commodities to its subjects at their own price; that each of them should permit a Portuguese fortress to be erected in his capital; that no other merchants should load a cargo, till the Portuguese were served; and that no mariners should navigate the Indian seas without their passports.

At this period, A. D. 1508, the famous Alphonsus D' Albuquerque made his appearance on the Oriental stage. This general, equally distinguished by his military and political talents, was invested with the supreme command in India, and soon began to form the most extensive plans. The Portuguese, animated by the successes already obtained, and the view of the channels of wealth that were opened, were fired with the spirit of enterprise. The pope, glad of an opportunity of asserting his universal sovereignty, had granted to Portugal all the countries she had discovered, or should discover in the East, and the whole nation was seized with the spirit of conversion and conquest. Volunteers presented themselves in crowds to man the fleet and complete the army. A formidable armament was equipped; and on its arrival in India, Albuquerque saw himself at the head of a force composed of daring adventurers, who, with all the blessings of this world and the next in prospect, were ready to brave every danger, and surmount every difficulty. Albuquerque considered the Arabians as the only enemy which the Portuguese had to fear in the East. The navigators of the Red Sea, and the merchants who furnished the caravans of Egypt, were the natural enemies of the circumnavigators of the Cape. Against those enemies, therefore, the Portuguese general directed his efforts. Their naval force received a

signal overthrow in the Indian ocean, and many of their settlements were destroyed. The first object of Albuquerque was to establish the Portuguese power on the Malabar coast. This he effected by the destruction of Calicut, and the capture of Goa, which was carried by assault.

The views of the Portugese general were extensive; his ambition was boundless; and his abilities equal to any undertaking. He had rendered the Portugese masters of the coast of Malabar; his next attempt was to extend their conquests and commerce still further to the eastward. Having made several acquisitions, and built some forts on the coast of Coromandel, he projected an attack on Malacca, one of the richest cities of the East. For the reduction of this important place he resolved to make a great effort. After a vigorous attack, and an obstinate defence, the city was carried by assault, and the Portugese found an immense booty, both in treasure and rich merchandise, in this great emporium of oriental commerce. A citadel was immediately erected to secure his important conquest, and Albuquerque returned in triumph to Goa. The Indian princes courted his friendship, and permitted forts to be built, and factories to be established in every part of their dominions. The Portuguese general having accomplished his views in that quarter, now resolved to strike a final blow at the commerce and power of the Arabians, by the conquest of Aden, at the mouth of the Red Sea, and of Ormus, in the Persian gulf, two stations, in which the Portuguese squadrons might command the whole trade of Egypt and Persia. Ormus was, at that time, one of the most opulent, luxurious and splendid cities of Asia. Like Tyre, it was seated on a small and barren island. Like Tyre also, it was one of the greatest marts in the world. Its luxurious and unwarlike inhabitants were unable to withstand the impetuous valour of the Portuguese. The city was soon obliged to surrender, and Albuquerque received in that place, an embassy from the monarch of Persia. His attempt, however, upon Aden miscarried; but he had made such ravages in the straits of Babel-Mandel, and

on the coasts of the Red Sea, as had totally ruined the trade of the Egyptians and Arabs. The reduction of Goa, Malacca, and Ormus, with the entire annihilation of the Arabian marine, completely established the empire of the Portuguese in the East, and perfectly secured their commerce. The capture of Ormus was the last military exploit of Albuquerque. It is painful to add that this illustrious man, who added so much to his country's glory and prosperity, died in disgrace. This event took place at Goa, in the year 1515.

The age of Albuquerque was that of the heroism and grandeur of Portugal. At his decease, her power and fame had reached the meridian. Her maritime and commercial empire was the most extensive and astonishing that had ever existed. It extended over all the coasts and islands of Africa and Asia, from the straits of Gibraltar to Cochin China. Her commerce was afterwards carried, as far as China and Japan. While the Portuguese mariners were exploring the coasts of Africa, their adventurous travellers and negotiators penetrated into its interior recesses; reached Abyssinia, and concluded a treaty of friendship and commerce with its emperor, the Prester John of those ignorant ages. Of the dominions of this prince, Europe had, hitherto, received no knowledge, except what had been collected from fabulous accounts, and vague reports. The Portuguese were the first and almost the only Europeans, who, prior to Bruce, had explored that curious and long concealed region.

The prosperity of Portugal did not continue quite a century, before a foreign power annihilated her grandeur. Even in the height of her greatness, the mismanagement of her government gave some fatal blows to her domestic industry. Emanuel adopted the cruel and pernicious policy of expelling the whole race of Moors from his dominions. He left them no other alternative, than immediate expatriation or perpetual slavery. To the Jews, he was still more severe. He caused all their children, under fifteen, to be taken from them, and baptized. The adults were ordered to leave the kingdom, under the same penalty as the Moors, while at the

same time every measure was taken to obstruct their departure. These vexations, with the disagreeable circumstance of leaving their children behind, induced most of them, outwardly, to embrace Christianity. To this day there is a great mixture of the Jewish blood, in the Portuguese nation.* John III. his successor, established the cruel and impolitic inquisition, which in every country has operated as a check on the energy of the human mind.

The reign of Sebastian, grandson and successor of John III. which commenced A. D. 1557, was the fatal era of the downfall of Portugal. This prince, the year after his accession, invading Morocco, was slain in battle A. D. 1559. His uncle Henry, a cardinal, succeeded him, but died without issue. Anthony, prior of Crato, was elected king; but Philip II. sending the duke of Alva, with a powerful force, seized on the kingdom, and Portugal became a province of Spain.

During the period of sixty years in which the Portuguese were subject to Spain, most of their valuable colonies were conquered by the Dutch; and they themselves were sorely oppressed by the rapacity and violence of the viceroys sent to govern them. These repeated acts of tyranny and oppression excited at last a general revolt. A plan for the expulsion of the Spaniards, and the advancement of the duke of Braganza to the throne, was projected, and successfully conducted through every stage of its progress by Pinto de Ribeiro, steward to that nobleman. He had so completely taken his measures, as to render success almost infallible. The business was kept a profound secret, except to the few conspirators, till the moment of explosion, when a general insurrection of the people was almost instantaneously excited, and the expulsion of the Spaniards effected, with little bloodshed. Thus by a masterly train of manœuvres, was the duke of Braganza raised to the throne, and the independence of Portugal restored.

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 1. p. 544.

Portugal now resumed her rank as a kingdom, but her commerce was ruined, and her colonies captured. Brazil, Angola, and some other settlements were recovered; but her extensive possessions in the East, with the rich monopoly of Indian commerce, were irretrievably lost. A long war with Spain, cramped her exertions abroad, and the city of Goa, with some forts of inferior importance, are all that Portugal has been able to retain of her vast Asiatic empire. The subsequent history of this country is neither important nor interesting. Since that period, it has always been dependent on other powers, and has never been able to act any other than a subordinate part on the political theatre. The most remarkable events are the tremendous earthquake at Lisbon, in 1755,* and the conspiracy formed against the king

* The subsequent letter, addressed to a friend in England, by a gentleman attached to the British factory in Lisbon, immediately after the earthquake, in 1755, gives a lively picture of that dreadful catastrophe.

"*Lisbon, November 13th*, 1755.

"DEAR SIR,—I herewith send you an account of one of the most dreadful catastrophes recorded in history, the veracity of which you may depend on, as I shared so great a part in it myself.

"There never was a finer morning seen than the first of November; the sun shone out in its full lustre, the whole face of the sky was perfectly serene and clear. It was on the morning of this fatal day, between the hours of nine and ten, when the papers and table I was writing on, began to tremble with a gentle motion, which rather surprised me. Whilst I was reflecting with myself what this could be owing to, the whole house began to shake from the very foundation; which, at first, I imputed to the rattling of several coaches in the main street, which usually passed that way at this time; but on hearkening more attentively, I was soon undeceived, as I found it was owing to a strange, frightful kind of noise under ground, resembling the hollow distant roar of thunder. All this passed in less than a minute, and I now began to be alarmed, as it occurred to me that the noise might possibly be the forerunner of an earthquake.

"Upon this, I threw down my pen, and started upon my feet, remaining a moment in suspense whether I should stay in the apartment or run into the street, as the danger in both places seemed equal, and still flattered myself that this tremor might produce no other than inconsiderable effects; but in a moment I was roused from my dream, being instantly stunned

in 1758, who was attacked and dangerously wounded by assassins, in a solitary place near his country residence at Belem. A number of nobles were accused, condemned, and

with a most horrid crash, as if every edifice in the city had tumbled down at once. The house I was in shook with such violence, that the upper stories immediately fell, and though my apartment (which was the first floor) did not then share the same fate, yet it was with no small difficulty I kept my feet, and expected nothing less than to be soon crushed to death, as the walls continued rocking to and fro, opening in several places; large stones falling down on every side from the cracks; and the ends of most of the rafters starting out of the roof. To add to this terrifying scene, the sky in a moment became so gloomy, that I could distinguish no particular object; it was an Egyptian darkness, indeed such as might be felt, probably owing to the prodigious clouds of dust and lime raised from so violent a concussion; it is certain I found myself almost choaked for near ten minutes.

"As soon as the gloom began to disperse, and the violence of the shock abated, the first object I perceived in the room, was a woman sitting on the floor, with an infant in her arms, all covered with dust, pale and trembling: I asked her how she got hither, but her consternation was so great, that she could give me no account of her escape. The poor creature asked me in the utmost agony, if I did not think the world was at an end, at the same time she complained of being choaked, and begged for God's sake I would procure her a little drink; upon which, I went to a closet where I kept a large jar with water, but finding it broken in pieces, I told her she must not now think of quenching her thirst, but saving her life, as the house was just falling on our heads, and if a second shock came, would certainly bury us both. I bade her, therefore, take hold of my arm, and that I would endeavour to bring her into some place of security.

"I hurried down stairs, the woman with me, holding by my arm, and made directly to that end of the street which opens to the Tagus; but finding the passage this way entirely blocked up with the fallen houses, to the height of their second stories, I turned back to the other end, which led into the main street. Just as we were going into this street, as there was one part I could not climb over without the assistance of my hands, as well as feet, I desired her to let go her hold, which she did, remaining two or three feet behind me, at which instant there fell a vast stone from a tottering wall, and crushed both her and her child in pieces.

"I had now a long narrow street to pass, with the houses on each side, four or five stories high, all very old, the greater part already thrown down, or continually falling, and threatening the passengers with inevitable death at every step, numbers of whom lay killed before me, or so bruised and

executed, with the most horrid circumstances of cruelty; but what is still more shocking, their innocence has since been proved and authentically declared. In this supposed

wounded, that they could not stir to help themselves. For my own part, as destruction to me appeared unavoidable, I only wished I might be made an end of at once, and not have my limbs broken, in which case, I could expect nothing else but to be left upon the spot, lingering in misery, like these poor unhappy wretches, without receiving the least succour from any person.

"I proceeded on as far I conveniently could, though with the utmost caution, and having at length got clear of this horrid passage, I found myself safe and unhurt in the large open space before St. Paul's church, which had been thrown down a few minutes before, and buried a great part of the congregation. Here I stood some time considering what I should do, and not thinking myself safe in this situation, I came to the resolution of climbing over the ruins of the west end of the church, in order to get to the river side, that I might be removed as far as possible from the tottering houses, in case of a second shock.

"This, with some difficulty, I accomplished, and here found a prodigious concourse of people of both sexes, and of all ranks and conditions, among whom I observed some of the principal canons of the patriarchal church, in their purple robes and rockets; several priests, who had run from the altars in their sacerdotal vestments, in the midst of their celebrating mass; ladies half dressed, and some without shoes; all these, whom their common dangers had there assembled, as to a place of safety, were on their knees at prayers, with the terrors of death in their countenances, every one striking his breast, and crying out incessantly, Misericordia meu Dios. Their tears, their bitter sighs and lamentations, would have touched the most flinty hearts. I knelt down among them, and prayed as fervently as the rest.

"In the midst of our devotions, the second great shock came on, and completed the ruin of those buildings which had been already much shattered. The consternation now became so universal, that the shrieks and cries of Misericordia could be distincty heard at a considerable distance; at the same time we could hear the fall of the parish church, whereby many persons were killed on the spot, and others mortally wounded. The force of this shock was so violent, that I could scarce keep on my knees; but it was attended with some circumstances still more dreadful than the former. On a sudden I heard a general outcry, 'The sea is coming in, we shall be all lost.' Upon this, turning my eyes towards the river, which in this place is near four miles broad, I could perceive it heaving and swelling in a most unaccountable manner, as no wind was stirring; and in an in-

conspiracy, the Jesuits were also implicated, and their expulsion from Portugal was the consequence; a charge which was, probably, equally groundless. The marine and military

stant, there appeared at some small distance, a large body of water rising as it were like a mountain. It came on, foaming and roaring, and rushing towards the shore with such impetuosity that we immediately ran for our lives as fast as possible; many were actually swept away, and the rest above their waist in water, at a good distance from the banks. I should certainly have been lost, had I not grasped a large beam that lay on the ground, till the water returned to its channel, which it did, almost the same instant, with equal rapidity. As there now appeared at least as much danger from the sea as the land, and I scarcely knew whither to retire for safety, I took a sudden resolution of returning back to the area of St. Paul's. Here I stood some time, and observed the ships tumbling and tossing about as in a violent storm, some had broken their cables, and were carried to the other side of the Tagus; others were whirled round with incredible swiftness; several large boats were turned keel upwards, and all this without any wind. It was at the time of which I am now speaking, that the fine new quay, built entirely of marble, at an immense expense, was entirely swallowed up, with all the people on it, who had fled thither for safety, and had reason to think themselves out of danger in such a place. At the same time a great number of boats and small vessels anchored near it, full of people, who were all swallowed up as in a whirlpool, and never more appeared.

"A master of a ship, in the vicinity, informed me that when the second shock came on, he could perceive the whole city waving backwards and forwards like the sea when the wind first begins to rise; that the agitation of the earth was so great, even under the river, that it threw up his large anchor from the mooring, which swam, as he termed it, on the surface of the water; that, immediately upon this extraordinary concussion, the river rose at once nearly twenty feet, and in a moment subsided; at which instant, he saw the quay, with the whole concourse of people upon it, sink down, and at the same time, every one of the boats and vessels that were near it, were drawn into the cavity, which he supposes instantly closed upon them, as not the least sign of a wreck was ever seen afterwards. This account you may give full credit to. I went myself a few days after, and could not find even the ruins of a place where I had taken many agreeable walks. I found it all deep water, and in some parts scarcely to be fathomed. This is the only place I could learn which was swallowed up, in or about Lisbon, though I saw many large cracks and fissures in different parts.

force of Portugal are at present insignificant. The rich commerce of Brazil is that which renders her friendship of value to those nations which furnish manufactures for that flourishing colony.

"I had not been long in the area of St. Paul's, when I felt the third shock, which, though somewhat less violent than the two former, the sea rushed in again, and retired with the same rapidity, and I remained up to my knees in water. At this time I took notice the waters retired so impetuously, that some vessels were left quite dry, which before rode in seven fathoms of water. The river thus continued, alternately rushing on, and retiring, several times together, so that it was justly dreaded Lisbon would now meet the same fate, which a few years ago had befallen the city of Lima.

"The master of a vessel, which arrived here just after the first of November, assured me that he felt the shock above forty leagues at sea, so sensibly, that he really concluded he had struck upon a rock, till he threw out the lead and could find no bottom, nor could he possibly guess at the cause, till the melancholy sight of this desolate city left him no room to doubt of it. The two first shocks, in fine, were so violent, that several pilots were of opinion, the situation of the bar at the mouth of the Tagus was changed. Certain it is, that one vessel attempting to pass through the usual channel, foundered, and another struck on the sands, and was at first given over for lost, but at length got through. There was another great shock after this, which pretty much affected the river; but I think not so violently as the preceding, though several persons assured me, that as they were riding on horseback, in the great road leading to Belem, one side of which lies open to the river, the waves rushed in with so much rapidity, that they were obliged to gallop as fast as possible to the upper grounds, for fear of being carried away.

"I was now in such a situation that I knew not which way to turn myself; if I remained there, I was in danger from the sea; if I retired further from the shore, the houses threatened certain destruction; and at last I resolved to go to the mint, which being a low and very strong building, had received no considerable damage. The party of soldiers, which is every day set there on guard, had all deserted the place, and the only person that remained, was the commanding officer, who declared, that though he were sure the earth would open and swallow him up, he scorned to think of flying from his post. It was owing to the magnanimity of this young man, that the mint, which at this time had upwards of two millions of money in it, was not robbed.

"In my progress, the new scenes of horror I met with, exceeded all description; nothing could be heard but sighs and groans. I did not meet with

Portugal, so long the faithful ally of Great Britain, was at length obliged to submit to the general fate of the continent. The entrance of the French armies into Spain, under the os-

a soul in the passage who was not bewailing the loss of his relations and friends, or his substance. I could hardly take a single step without treading on the dead or the dying; in some places lay coaches with their masters, horses, and riders, almost crushed in pieces; here mothers, with infants in their arms; there ladies richly dressed; priests, friars, gentlemen, mechanics, either in the same condition, or just expiring; some had their backs or thighs broken, others vast stones on their breasts; some lay almost buried in the rubbish, and crying out in vain to the passengers for succour, were left to perish with the rest.

"At length I arrived at a public house about half a mile from the city, where I still remain with a great number of my countrymen, as well as Portuguese, in the same wretched circumstances, having almost ever since lain on the ground, and never once within doors; with scarcely any covering to defend me from the inclemency of the night air, which, at this time, is exceeding sharp and piercing.—Perhaps you may think the present doleful subject here concluded, but alas! the horrors of the first of November are sufficient to fill a volume. As soon as it grew dark, another scene presented itself, little less shocking than those already described: the whole city appeared in a blaze, which was so bright, that I could easily see to read by it. It may be said, without exaggeration, it was on fire at least in an hundred different places at once, and thus continued burning for six days together, without intermission, or the least attempt being made to stop its progress.

"It went on consuming every thing the earthquake had spared, and the people were so dejected and terrified, that few had courage enough to venture down to save any part of their substance. Every one had his eyes turned towards the flames, and stood looking on with silent grief, which was only interrupted by the shrieks and cries of women and children, calling on the saints and angels for succour, whenever the earth began to tremble, which was so often this night, and, indeed, I may say ever since, that the tremors, more or less, did not cease for a quarter of an hour together. I could never learn that this terrible fire was owing to any subterraneous eruption, but to three causes, which, all concurring at the same time, will naturally account for the prodigious havoc it made; the first of November being All Saints day, a high festival among the Portuguese, every altar, in every church and chapel (some of which have more than twenty) was illuminated with a number of wax tapers and lamps as customary; these setting fire to the curtains and timber work that fell with the shock, the conflagration soon spread to the neighbouring houses,

tensible pretext of invading Portugal, obliged the Prince Regent to issue, in October 1807, an edict for shutting the ports of his kingdom against all British ships and vessels of

and being there joined with the fires in the kitchen chimnies, increased to such a degree, that it might easily have destroyed the whole city, though no other cause had concurred.

"A gang of hardened villains, who had been confined, and got out of prison, when the wall fell at the first shock, were busily employed in setting fire to those buildings which stood some chance of escaping the general destruction. I cannot conceive what could have induced them to this hellish work, except to add to the horror and confusion, that they might by these means have the better opportunity of plundering with security. But there was no necessity for taking this trouble, as they might certainly have done their business without it; since the whole city was so deserted before night, that I believe not a soul remained in it, except those execrable villains, and others of the same stamp. It is possible some among them might have had other motives besides robbing, as one, in particular, confessed at the gallows, that he had set fire to the king's palace with his own hand, at the same time glorying in the action, and declaring with his last breath, that he hoped to have burnt all the royal family. The fire, in short, by some means or other, may be said to have destroyed the whole city, at least every thing that was grand or valuable in it. Even those few effects that had the luck of escaping the first flames, found no security in the open spaces to which they were carried; being there either burnt with the sparks that fell on every side, or lost in the hurry and confusion, or stolen by those abandoned villains, who made their doubly wicked advantage of this general calamity.

"With regard to the buildings, it was observed, that the most solid, in general, fell the first; among which, besides those already mentioned, were the granaries of the public corn-market; the great royal hospital in the Rocieu; that called the Miserecordia, for the maintenance of poor orphan girls, most of whom perished; the fine church and convent of St. Domingo, where was one of the largest and noblest libraries in Europe; the grand church of the Carmelites, supported by two rows of white marble pillars; the old cathedral, which was of an excessive thickness; the magnificent church of the regular canons of St. Augustine, were all crushed in pieces. In short, it is impossible to enumerate the particular damages in buildings; every parish church, convent, nunnery, palace, and public edifice, with an infinite number of private houses, were either thrown down, or so miserably shattered, that it is rendered dangerous to pass by them. As to the people who lost their lives on this occasion, to say nothing of those who were crushed to death in their own houses, in

every description. In consequence of these proceedings, a British squadron was sent to the mouth of the Tagus, to be ready to act as future circumstances might require. But the

some of which, no less than forty persons were killed, (as a family lives on every floor) either meeting with immediate death, or having had their limbs broken by the fall of the stones in the streets, you may easily judge what prodigious numbers must have perished in the churches and convents, as the first shock happened at high mass, when they were assembled at their devotions.

"The whole number of persons that perished, is supposed to amount to sixty thousand. This extensive and opulent city is now nothing but a vast heap of ruins.

"After the first consternation was over, I ventured down into the city, by the safest ways I could pick out, to see if there was a possibility of getting any thing out of my lodgings; but the ruin was now so augmented by the late fire, that I was so far from being able to distinguish the individual spot where the house stood, that I could not even distinguish the street amidst such mountains of stones and rubbish, which rose on every side. Some days after, I ventured down again, with several porters, who having long plied in these parts of the town, were well acquainted with the situation of particular houses; by their assistance, I at last discovered the spot, but was soon convinced to dig for any thing there, besides the danger of such an attempt, would never answer the expense.

"At both the times when I attempted to make this fruitless search, especially the first, there came such an intolerable stench from the dead bodies, that I was ready to faint away; and though it did not seem so great this last time, yet it had like to have been more fatal to me, as I contracted a fever by it. A gentleman told me, that going into the town a few days after the earthquakes, he saw several bodies lying in the streets, some horribly mangled, as he supposed by the dogs; others half burnt; some quite roasted, and that in certain places, particularly near the doors of churches, they lay in vast heaps, piled upon one another.

"They have been employed now for several days past in taking up the dead bodies, which are carried out into the neighbouring fields; but the greater part still remain under the rubbish, nor do I think it would be safe to remove them, even though it were practicable, on account of the stench.

"Thus my dear friend have I given you a genuine, though imperfect account of this terrible judgment, which has left so deep an impression on my mind, that I shall never wear it off. I have lost all the money I had by me, and have saved no other clothes than what I have on my back; but what I regret most, is the irreparable loss of my books and papers. However, notwithstanding all I have suffered, I do not think I have reason to

compliance of the Portuguese cabinet with the views of France in shutting the ports, did not satisfy its emperor. The French army under general Junot, was on the point of entering Portugal, and the Prince Regent, to avert the impending storm, was induced to sign an order for the detention of all British subjects and property in his dominions. He was still, however, placed in the most difficult and embarrassing situation. Notwithstanding his compliance with the requisition of France, general Junot was advancing towards Lisbon, and a Russian fleet entered the Tagus. Thus menaced by a French army, he had forfeited his claim to the protection of England, by adding himself, although through compulsion, to the number of her enemies. The British ambassador, lord Strangford, had taken his passports, and proceeded to the squadron under sir Sidney Smith, who had just arrived on the coast; and a rigorous blockade was established at the mouth of the Tagus. The Prince Regent, therefore, had no other alternative than that of removing the seat of government to Brazil, or of submitting to rule over Portugal as a vassal of France. Even the emigration to South America was impracticable, unless favoured by the English fleet. In this critical situation, the prince resolved to cast himself on the generosity of England; rather than submit to France. A new negotiation was commenced, and lord Strangford returning to Lisbon, gave the most explicit assurances that the British squadron before the mouth of the Tagus, should be employed in protecting the Prince Regent's retreat from Portugal, and the voyage to Brazil. The whole arrangement was immediately made. A decree was published, in which the Prince Regent announced his intention of retiring to Rio de Janeiro, and nominated a regency. The Portuguese fleet, making in all about thirty-six sail, came out of the Tagus, having on board the Prince Regent, and the whole of the royal family of Braganza, together with many of his coun-

despair, but rather to return my grateful acknowledgments to the Almighty, who hath so visibly preserved my life amidst such dangers, where so many thousands perished. I am, &c."

sellors and adherents, as well as other persons attached to his fortunes, and directed their course to South America.

Thus about the close of the year 1807, the French became masters of Portugal; and general Junot, on whom the emperor Napoleon conferred the office of governor general, with the title of duke of Abrantes, ruled the kingdom with tyrannical sway, till new and extraordinary events gave an unexpected turn to affairs. The insurrection which took place in Spain, in consequence of the revolution in its government, and the successes of the patriots, roused the spirit of the Portuguese, and recalled to their remembrance the victories of the famed Albuquerque. The insurrection of Portugal, like that of Spain, was rapidly organized, and soon assumed a formidable aspect. The insurgents made themselves masters of Oporto, Coimbra, and several other places of importance, and the French being almost wholly expelled from the northern parts of the kingdom, were obliged to concentrate their force in Lisbon and its vicinity. Its future state is still in suspense. Whether Portugal shall become a province of France, or be revived in South America, is only known to the supreme arbiter of nations.

The religion of Portugal is the Roman Catholic, in its strictest forms. The kingdom contains nearly four thousand parishes, and an abundance of monasteries. Excepting the papal territory, no country in Europe supports a greater number of ecclesiastics, in proportion to the rest of its population. The inquisition is established here, and was formerly exceedingly oppressive, but at present its power is much limited.

The monarchy of Portugal is hereditary, and one of the most absolute in Europe. The heir apparent has the title of Prince of Brazil.

The laws are extremely lenient, except in cases of treason. Theft is not punished with death, until after the fourth offence. Criminals of all descriptions are for the most part sent to the colonies.

The principal trade of Portugal has for years been with Great Britain, and the balance was always considered as greatly in favour of the latter. The migration of the government to the Brazils, must effect a great change in the commerce of the country.

The articles of home production, which Portugal exports, are chiefly hams, dried fish, &c. to the Brazils, and wines, her staple commodity, both thither and to the northern countries of Europe. Of her wines, England takes off a great quantity, especially of port. But the carcavello wine, supposed to be produced near Lisbon, is for the most part fabricated in London.* England also takes off a great quantity of the oranges of Portugal, and exports thither salted and dried fish to a great amount. The Portuguese East India trade is chiefly carried on from their settlement of Goa, and their factory of Macao, near Canton in China.

Besides the valuable and important country of Brazil, the present seat of government, the principal colonies belonging to Portugal, are those of Angola, Loanga, Mosambique, &c. in Africa, with some others in that quarter of the globe, of less importance. Goa and Macao, are the relics of the once extensive empire of the Portuguese in Asia.

The manufactures of Portugal are few, and of little importance. This, indeed, is what renders her commerce so valuable to those nations which supply her with manufactured goods for home and colonial consumption.

The population of Portugal may be estimated at about three million seven hundred thousand.

The Portuguese language approximates so nearly to the Spanish, that whoever has a competent knowledge of the one, will, with a little practice, understand the other. By the conquests of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, their language is widely diffused on the coasts of Africa and Asia, and is as useful in those parts, as the French is in Europe.

The literature of Portugal is extremely defective, and the few learned men in that country, are like stars twinkling in

* Murphy's Trav. p. 241, 242.

the dark gloom of night. Philosophy and the mathematics are in a very contemptible state, and philology is much neglected. Botany and mineralogy have of late been cultivated, but both are yet in their infancy. All their good medical works are translations from the English, and their best physicians follow the English mode in treating their patients. The Portuguese have produced no good historical works, and all the attempts yet made in regard to the history of Portugal, are very defective. Of prose writers in the belles lettres, Portugal may be considered as entirely destitute. There is not one native work of the kind that can boast any merits of style, but Portuguese translations of foreign authors, especially French, are numerous, and many of them not ill executed. In novel writing, the Portuguese are far inferior to the Spaniards; but they excel them in poetry. Portugal justly boasts of having produced the greatest poets that have flourished beyond the Pyrenees. Camoens eclipses all those of Spain, and rivals the first of Italy. The Portuguese have a genius for poetry, and are particularly fond of bucolics, and amorous sonnets. The commencement of the literature of Portugal, was not much later than that of the other European nations, as it may be traced to the middle of the thirteenth century. During the middle ages, learning does not appear to have been in a much worse state in Portugal than in the rest of Europe. In the sixteenth century, the Portuguese possessed more knowledge in regard to astronomy, geography, and navigation, than most of the other nations of Europe, and derived from it very great advantages. Their present backwardness is not to be attributed to want of genius, but to political and ecclesiastical oppression. Formerly, no book could be sold without a number of testimonials and permissions. The permission of the inquisition was in the first place necessary, and when this was obtained, testimonials were to be procured from each tribunal, that the impression was conformable to the manuscript. No literary journals, reviews, &c. are circulated here; but there is published weekly, one miscellaneous work, consisting of inci-

dents, anecdotes, &c. The Gazette of Lisbon, is the only political journal published in Portugal, and foreign newspapers are prohibited.

Of the polite arts, there is a total want in Portugal. In that country, neither architecture, statuary, nor painting, presents any elegant specimens.

FRANCE.

FRANCE, before her late acquisitions, was supposed to comprise an area of 148,840 square miles. Her conquests since the revolution, have however, considerably increased its extent, which now reaches from 42° to about 15° 20′ north latitude, and from 7° west, to about 6° east longitude from Paris. The Rhine, from its issue out of the Helvetic territory, to its entrance into the Batavian kingdom, now forms its boundary on the side of Germany. The medium length of France may be computed at about six hundred, and its mean breadth at about five hundred and twenty English miles.

The original division into provinces, has, since the revolution, undergone a total alteration. Not only new arrangements have been adopted, but new names have been created; so that the past and future history of France, will seem to treat of two different states.

France is mostly an open champaign country, little incumbered with mountains or marshes, but beautifully diversified with the scenery of hill and dale, and picturesque rivers.

The principal mountains of France are the Cevennes, in Languedoc, and those of Auvergne and the Vosges in the department of that name, part of the ancient Lorraine. The grand chain of the Cevennes runs in a direction nearly from north to south, sending forth various branches. These mountains are remarkable for the artificial fertility, conferred on some of their barren sides by the industry of the inhabitants. As the waters, which in rainy seasons run down in torrents carry along with them considerable quantities of earth, walls of loose stones are raised to check their rapid descent. The water filtering through these walls deposits against their sides the soil brought down from the upper parts, and gradually forms, behind them, a level and fertile space. Succes-

sive ramparts being thus raised, sometimes almost to the summit of the mountain, the water has no longer a violent fall, but, gently descending, nourishes the crops. The mountains of the ancient province of Auvergne extend one hundred and twenty miles. The Monts d'Or, forming the centre, are the highest in France. The most elevated summit is that of the Puy de Sansi, which rises about two thousand one hundred yards above the level of the sea, and is almost perpetually capped with snow. These mountains are, in winter, exposed to dreadful hurricanes and falls of snow, which, in a few hours, reduce the ravines and precipices to a level. The accumulated hills descending to the villages confine the inhabitants to their houses, which are sometimes so completely buried, that a communication is obliged to be opened, in the form of an arch, under the enormous mass of snow; and unlucky is the traveller who happens to be overtaken by one of these tempests. In summer, thunder storms are frequent and scarcely less terrible than the tempests of winter, being accompanied with torrents of hailstones of a prodigious size, which not only destroy the fruits, but sometimes do great damage to the flocks.

The Pyrenees, forming the boundary between France and Spain, may be assigned to either country. The summit of Mont Perdu, the most elevated point of the Pyrenees, is about eleven thousand English feet above the level of the sea. The naturalists, Ramond, and La Peyrouse, found, that the highest summits of these mountains, not excepting even that of Mont Perdu, in its most elevated parts, were replete with marine relics, and contained many shells and bones of sea animals, from which they conclude, that these lofty heights must once have been covered with the ocean. If this be admitted, it follows, that the terraqueous globe must have undergone extraordinary convulsions at some very remote period.

The principal rivers of France are the Loire, the Rhone, the Seine, and the Garonne.

The canal of Languedoc is the glory of the reign of Louis XIV. This great work was commenced and completed by M. Riquet, an able engineer, under the auspices of that monarch, and his celebrated minister Colbert, in the space of fifteen years, from 1666 to 1681, and at an expense of about half a million sterling. This grand canal, which extends about one hundred and eighty English miles from the bay of Languedoc to the city of Thoulouse; where it enters the Garonne, is one hundred and forty-four feet in width, and six feet deep. In one part of its course, it is carried through a mountain, by means of a tunnel seven hundred and twenty feet in length, which, at that time, was considered as an extraordinary effort of art. A reservoir, at St. Ferriol, comprising a surface of five hundred and ninety-five acres, supplies the canal with water. It is generally said, that the original purpose of this undertaking was the speedy conveyance of fleets from the ocean to the Mediterranean; but, from its shallowness, this plan seems to have been soon abandoned. The canal of Briaire, anterior in date, is not, in utility, inferior to that of Languedoc. It joins the canal of Orleans, and by opening a communication between the Loire and the Seine, which affords the conveniency of water carriage between Paris, and the most fertile parts of the interior, is the source of an extensive and important inland navigation and trade. The junction of this canal with the Seine is near Fontainbleau, about twenty miles from Paris. Next to these may be ranked, the canal of Picardy. The canals, which open an inland navigation between Calais, St. Omer's, Dunkirk, and other places in that quarter, are also productive of great conveniences; and, since the acquisition of the former Austrian Netherlands, those which connect Ostend, Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, Antwerp, and several other cities and towns in the Belgic department, may be added to the number. The rivers and canals which intersect these provinces in every direction, are however, so numerous, that a particular account of them would be tedious.

There are in France mines of gold, silver, copper, lead, antimony, quick-silver; but the amount obtained from them is not considerable. Iron, the most important, and the most universal of metals, abounds in France.

The climate, as well as the soil of France, differs materially, in the northern and southern provinces. In general, however, the air is more pure and serene than in England. Mr. Young divides the climate of France into three parts, the northern, the central, and the southern, extending obliquely, from the north east, to the south west. "The first of these yields no wine, the second no maize, but the third produces wine, maize, and olives." The central division he esteems one of the finest districts in the world.

In the southernmost parts of France groves of olive trees are intermixed with corn fields and luxuriant vineyards. Silk is also one of its valuable productions. France far exceeds England, if not in the quality, at least in the quantity of its timber; and by reason of its abundance, wood is the principal fuel of the inhabitants. In some parts of the country, the forests are numerous and extensive. The most remarkable are those of Ardennes and Orleans, the latter of which was formerly the rendezvous of numerous troops of banditti, by whom the vicinity was infested. In this delightful country, corn, wine, fruit, and timber, are produced in equal perfection, and the grape, the orange, the olive and the oak, display the same degree of luxuriance.*

But although the soil and the climate of France are so favourable to vegetation, yet, from the defective mode of French agriculture, the quantity of its production is less than might be expected.

The radical defect of French agriculture seems to be, the neglect of grazing, and the consequent scarcity of manure; for, although the rich pastures, in the north, support numer-

* Wine may be reckoned a staple commodity of France, and the various kinds are exported to a great amount. Those of Champagne, Burgundy and Frontignac, are universally known and esteemed. Brandy is also a considerable article of traffic.

ous herds of cattle, yet it is the opinion of Mr. Young, that, in France generally, there is not one tenth of the number, it ought to contain. The French husbandry is however in an advancing state, and, in some parts of the country, the improvements of the system correspond with the natural fertility of the soil.

France has never been celebrated for its horses, although two or three centuries ago, they were superior to those of England. Subsequent improvements, have given the advantage in this respect to the latter country, and previous to the late commencement of hostilities, France imported from England her best horses for the coach and the saddle. In horned cattle, France is equally deficient, both in regard to their number and size. Their flesh, however is good. The sheep are still less improved, and worse managed, being generally fed with straw in the winter. Their fleeces are consequently poor, and their size as well as their number is small. Large quantities of wool are therefore imported, especially from Spain. From the deficiency of France in horned cattle and sheep, a scarcity of animal food necessarily prevails, so that the poor live chiefly on bread. In the year 1802, the whole number of sheep contained in the ample extent of France was little more than eleven millions, while those of England were computed at about twenty-five millions. Of savage animals the most remarkable are the wolf and the wild boar. The hunting of the latter has been long a favourite diversion.

France abounds in specimens of ancient art left by different ages. Among those, which appear to be of the greatest antiquity, are the circles and other monuments, generally styled Druidic. The Roman antiquities are numerous, and in excellent preservation. After Gaul had been reduced by their arms, the Romans made it a considerable object of their attention, and, except Italy, no country in Europe exhibits more magnificent monuments of the greatness of that celebrated people. Those of Nismes consisting of the amphitheatre, the temple of Diana, and the maison Carrée, have

constantly excited the admiration of travellers, and been the subjects of repeated description.

Paris, the capital of France, is situated on both sides of the Seine, by which it is intersected from east to west, as London is by the Thames. Most of the houses, especially towards the centre of the city, are five or six stories high, and built of free stone taken from quarries, which run in various directions under ground. Many streets of this immense capital are thus completely undermined. When Paris began to be first built of stone, the space which it occupied was very small, in comparison with its present circuit; and the stones used for the construction of the houses, and other edifices, were drawn from the neighbouring quarries. These were sunk, in some places, to the depth of forty or fifty yards, and carried to a great extent under ground. By degrees, as the city was enlarged, the streets were extended over these vast cavities, in most of which the superstratum has, through the care of government, been secured from falling in by pillars, and other artificial devices. A violent shock of an earthquake would, however, sink a considerable part of the metropolis into the subterraneous caverns from which it has risen; but those dreadful phænomena have scarcely ever been experienced at Paris. The French capital may also boast of its security from the damages occasioned by fires, which are so common in most other great cities. The floors of the houses being generally of brick, the staircases of stone, and the walls also of stone, without any wainscotting, are excellent preservatives against that calamity.

In the central parts of Paris the streets are in general narrow and dirty, and being always crowded with carriages, following one another in constant succession, it is almost impossible to walk without being continually splashed with dirt from their wheels. No fewer than three thousand fiacres, or hackney coaches, fifteen hundred chariots, and fifteen hundred cabriolets are kept in this capital. Paris, undoubtedly, exceeds London in magnificence and splendour, but falls far short of it in cleanliness and conveniency. The banks of the

Seine are adorned with noble quays, and the public buildings in general are of the first order of elegance, and placed in open and commanding situations. But the want of accommodations for foot passengers, in the crowded streets of the French metropolis, is an inconvenience, for which no public magnificence can compensate, and strikingly shows the inattention of the great, to the lower classes of the people.

Paris has long been the seat of voluptuousness and dissipation; and, although one of the most uncleanly, is certainly one of the gayest, most splendid, and most luxurious cities, in the world. If we take the Palais de la Justice as a central point, the surrounding circle, of about three miles in diameter, incloses an immense population, comprehending the most splendid and opulent parts of the city; the Thuilleries, the Palais Royal, and seventeen or eighteen theatres, in which plays are daily acted; besides several other public places of amusement, an incalculable number of rich shops stored with every article of convenience, elegance, and luxury, and the splendid mansions of the rich and the noble. The walls of Paris are about fifteen miles in circuit, and its population, from all the circumstances on which an estimate can be made, must be about seven hundred thousand.

Since the revolution, the great gallery of the Louvre, thirteen hundred feet in length, has been converted into a grand museum of the arts. This is at present the seat of the national institute, the principal of the learned societies of Paris. The object of this important establishment is to improve the arts by uninterrupted inquiries, by the examination of works of literature and science, and by correspondence with the learned societies of foreign countries. It is divided into three classes. 1st. Mathematical and physical sciences. 2d. Moral and political sciences. 3d. Literature and the fine arts. Six members of the institute are constantly appointed to travel at the public expense, besides a number of pupils sent to Rome to study the fine arts, and several others who are sent, both into the interior of France and

into foreign countries, for the purpose of making agricultural observations. The library of the national institute contains above sixteen thousand volumes; and there is also a spacious room for a collection of machines and models. The Louvre is also the repository of all the finest paintings that were formerly scattered throughout the different departments of France, with the valuable addition of all those, which have been obtained from the conquered countries, especially from Venice and Rome. Imagination can scarcely conceive a spectacle more grand and imposing than that which is here exhibited to the eye of the artist and the man of taste The halls of the Louvre display a magnificent profusion of the master pieces of statuary and sculpture; and the great gallery contains nearly one thousand paintings by the most celebrated masters of different countries.

The Tribunal, or the Palais Royal, is one of the greatest curiosities in Paris, being the grand lounging place for the idlers of that vast metropolis. The concourse of people is incalculable, and the crowd is the most numerous as well as the most brilliant that is seen, in any of the places of public resort, in this bustling capital. It exhibits at every hour, both of the day and the night, a scene of extravagance, dissipation, and debauchery, under its Piazzas. Here shops stored with all the articles of conveniency and luxury, coffee houses, bagnios and gaming tables, vie with each other in affording the idler an opportunity of disposing of his money. In walking under these arcades by night or by day, the observer of men and manners can never want matter for amusement and reflection. The most interesting scene is however exhibited in the evening. Every want, natural or artificial, may be supplied; every appetite indulged; and every desire meet with its appropriate gratification, in this scene of dissipation and perpetual variety. The moral philosopher, or the voluptuary, might pass his whole life in the Palais Royal, without feeling any necessity of passing beyond its walls for subjects of reflection, or means of luxurious enjoyment.

The hospital of invalids is perhaps the noblest and most comfortable asylum for wounded and superannuated warriors that the ancient or modern world can boast. This majestic edifice, one of the most honourable monuments of the reign of Louis XIV. is composed of five courts. The kitchens are as remarkable for their spaciousness, as the offices are for their neatness and conveniency; and a good library, presented by the emperor when he was first consul, adds to the comforts of the gallant veterans. In a lofty and magnificent saloon, called the temple of Mars, are suspended the ensigns of victory won by the arms of France, in different ages. No less than one thousand eight hundred standards, taken in the late revolutionary war, are displayed among the military ornaments of this hall of triumph. Among the monuments of ancient arts, the spoils of vanquished nations, which are to be seen at Paris, the four celebrated horses of bronze brought from Venice, must be considered as a singular curiosity. These works of the famous Lysippus have never changed their place, but in consequence of some great political revolution. The Romans, after having subjugated Greece, removed them from Corinth to Rome. From Rome they were carried to Constantinople, when that city was made the capital of the empire. After the capture of Constantinople by the French and Venetians A. D. 1204, they were transported to Venice; and on the reduction of that city, they were brought to Paris.

Previous to the revolution the manufactures of Paris made a conspicuous figure, but that event almost totally put a stop to the efforts of industry. Since the revolutionary phrenzy subsided, and the government has acquired stability, this branch of industry again begins to flourish. The manufactory of the Gobelin tapestry, so called from two celebrated dyers of Rheims, who settled at Paris in the reign of Francis I. is well known to stand unrivalled in the astonishing beauty and rich illusion of its figures. Next to this celebrated manufacture may be ranked those of looking glasses, porcelains, and crystals. The tannery of Seguin has become famous by

the recent discovery of a mode of tanning, not less conducive to the perfection of the leather than remarkable for the quickness of the operation.

Nothing in this splendid metropolis, confers more honour on the French nation than the numerous and appropriate institutions for the advancement of science and literature, with their curious collections of the varieties of nature, and the master pieces of art. The doors of every national library and national museum are thrown open to the public, and every decently dressed person enters without expense. Citizens or strangers may traverse the magnificent halls of the Louvre; examine the most perfect specimens of ancient and modern art; visit the different museums, and peruse the choicest books of the best libraries in the world, without molestation or charge. The national museum of natural history, with a library of about ten thousand volumes, and a fine botanical garden; the cabinet of medals, the richest collection of the kind in the world; and the national museum of sepulchral monuments of the kings, philosophers, and literati of France, arranged in different apartments, corresponding with the number of centuries from Clovis to the present period, merit in an eminent degree, the attention of the curious. The great national library is the most interesting object of this kind to be met with in the world. Before the revolution, it was supposed to equal, if not to excel, every other collection in Europe; and vanquished Italy has since contributed to increase its treasures. The Vatican has furnished five hundred select Greek and Latin manuscripts, and the library of St. Marc, at Venice, has surrendered two hundred and thirty more to this immense focus of literature. The whole number of manuscripts is above eighty thousand, of which about twenty-five thousand are in the learned and foreign languages. Thirty thousand, relating to the history of France, compose the gallerie de Mazarine. Besides these there is a collection of five thousand port folios of genealogies, and three thousand volumes of prints. The whole number of manuscripts and printed books is said to exceed three hundred thousand,

and since it has been enriched with the spoils of Venice, Florence, and Rome, it contains the most extensive and valuable collection of human knowledge any where extant. Paris is now the central repository of all that is most curious and rare in literature and the arts. This circumstance, in conjunction with the extraordinary scenes which have lately been transacted in that city, with the military fame and political greatness to which the French empire has attained, will render it an interesting object to the philosopher, the artist, and the historian; and secure to it, in a still more eminent degree, the advantage, which it has long enjoyed, of being the general rendezvous of the great, the wealthy, and the curious, of all nations.

The commerce of Paris, as may be readily perceived from its situation, is wholly internal; its distance from the sea being unfavourable to foreign trade, and the Seine being navigable only to vessels of small burden. Its inland commerce, by means of the rivers and canals which fall into the Seine, is very considerable; a brisk circulation being kept up in the country, by the population and wealth of the capital. The great sources of wealth, in Paris, are the residence of the court and the grandees, who hold lucrative offices, and possess vast estates; the great resort of foreign nobility and gentry; and during the revolution, the plunder of conquered countries. How much soever the other parts of France may have suffered in consequence of this event, and the wars to which it has given rise, the metropolis has received additional embellishments, and increased in population and riches. Many of the generals and statesmen, like those of ancient Rome, vie with sovereign princes in grandeur and opulence; and the greatest part of those who have made fortunes by politics, or by the sword, expend them amidst the gay scenes of the capital, and thereby contribute to animate its trade, and increase its splendor.

The first historical notice of Paris is in Cæsar's Commentaries.* In his time it was restricted to a small island form-

* Cæsar's Comm. lib. 6. cap. 3 and lib. 7. cap 4.

ed by the Seine, now called the *Cité*, the most gloomy and disagreeable part of the metropolis. At that period it was esteemed a place of great strength, and was called by the Romans Castrum Parisiorum. A vast forest on the north side of the river then covered the identical spot, on which the larger part of Paris now stands. The Romans, although they gave it the name of Lutetia, from its dirty soil, appear to have considered it as an eligible situation, and the emperor Julian, when governor of Gaul, made it his favourite residence. From that time it began to rise into notice, and about the beginning of the sixth century, Clovis made it the capital of his kingdom. Like all other ancient cities, it has received successive enlargements. Different monarchs contributed to render it more worthy of being the royal residence, and the capital of the kingdom. But the greatest improvements were reserved for the reign of Louis XIV. since which time it has been the general resort of foreigners of distinction and opulence.

Lyons, situated at the confluence of the Rhone and Saone, is regarded as the second city of France. At the time of the revolution it adhered strongly to the aristocratic party, a circumstance which occasioned its almost total desolation. During the reign of jacobinism it was besieged and captured by the national army; and its reduction was followed by a dreadful slaughter of the inhabitants. A decree was afterwards passed for its total demolition, a purpose which, however, was not carried into full execution. Since that infatuated period, it has begun to recover from this terrible disaster; but as commerce once expelled, is not easily recalled, it is doubtful whether this celebrated city will ever regain its former prosperity and opulence. Lyons was anciently called Lugdunum, and was a considerable place in the time of the Romans. In 1521, it was considered, by some, as one of the three richest cities of Europe, the two others being Venice and Genoa. Since that period, however all these cities have experienced a great reverse, and are sunk far beneath others which were then only rising to opulence.

Toulouse is a place of great antiquity; but neither it wealth nor its population corresponds with its extent and ancient fame; its trade being inconsiderable, and the number o its inhabitants not exceeding sixty thousand. In the times o remote antiquity, this city was the capital of the Tectosages, who extended their conquests into Greece and Asia Minor. While the Romans held the sovereignty of Gaul, it was a place of considerable note; and afterwards the capital of the kingdom of the Visigoths, and subsequently of that of Aquetaine. It is situated near the junction of the canals of Languedoc with the Garonne; and might have been a commercial and opulent city, but its inhabitants have never applied themselves to trade, and its manufactures are not worthy of notice. Their attachment to science and literature, however, has been as remarkable, as their neglect of commerce. In no city of France, except Paris, have the belles lettres been more successfully cultivated. Toulouse contains the ruins of a superb amphitheatre, and other Roman monuments.

Rouen surpasses Toulouse, both in population and trade. The number of its inhabitants is computed at about seventy thousand, and, although the streets are narrow, crooked, and dirty, and the houses generally built of wood, it is supposed to be one of the most opulent towns in France. Rouen has large woollen manufactures, and its linens are much esteemed. The city is more than four miles in circuit, and the public buildings are elegant.

Lisle in the ancient French Flanders, now the department du Nord, is inferior to few of the towns already mentioned in splendor, wealth, and importance. Its population is computed at about sixty thousand, and its manufactures of silk, cambric, lace, and camblets, are very considerable. The magnificence of this city has procured it the appellation of little Paris. Its fortifications, the work of the great Vauban, are esteemed the strongest and most regular in Europe.

Among the other inland towns of France may be noted Metz, Nancy, Strasburgh, and Orleans, the last of which is rendered memorable by two sieges which it sustained in the

fifth and fifteenth centuries, the former against Attila, king of the Huns, and the latter against the English, in both of which the besiegers were unsuccessful. Montpelier, the great resort of valetudinarians from all parts, is situated on a hill near the river Lez, not more than four or five miles from the Mediterranean. The environs are delightful, and the prospects, embracing on one side the Pyrennees, and on the other the Alps, are singularly grand and extensive. This city is beautiful and opulent, containing about thirty thousand inhabitants, who carry on a considerable manufacturing trade in silks, cottons, calicoes, gauzes, &c. but it derives its principal importance from its ancient school of medicine, and from the salubrity of its air, for which it has long been deservedly celebrated.

The chief commercial ports of France are Bourdeaux and Marseilles, one on the ocean, the other on the Mediterranean, nearly of equal magnitude and population, each being supposed to contain between eighty and ninety thousand inhabitants.

Marseilles is a city of great antiquity, and, undoubtedly, the most ancient in France, being founded, according to the generally received opinion, by a colony of Greeks about A. C. 600. While the rest of Gaul was in a state of barbarism, Marseilles was remarked as a flourishing city, famous for learning, arts, and magnificence; and as a place of great resort for the study of the sciences and belles lettres.* It consists of two towns, the old and the new, which exhibit a complete contrast; the former being ill built and inelegant, having narrow and dirty streets, with steep ascents; the latter, extremely beautiful, with handsome houses, spacious streets, and fine squares. This city has at different times suffered severely from the plague, particularly in 1720, when fifty thousand persons, who must have composed nearly two thirds of its population, were carried off by that dreadful disease. In this time of calamity and horror, Belfonce, the good

* Tacit. Vita Agric. cap. 4.

bishop celebrated by Pope; Bougeret a canon; Langeron the commandant; and Montier, one of the city magistrates, continued in Marseilles, and, by their intrepid and indefatigable humanity, preserved multitudes, who were sinking under the pressure of sickness and want. Marseilles has from a very early period been celebrated for its trade. The number of vessels that arrived at this port in the year 1753, was, according to Mr. Anderson's account, 1264. The environs are beautiful, being embellished with between four and five thousand villas, which form a delightful retreat in the summer months, and display the taste and wealth of the Marseilloise.

Bourdeaux, the other chief commercial port of France, is situated on the Garonne, and before the revolutionary war, possessed a very extensive trade. When the commerce of France is in a flourishing state, the exportation of wines and brandy from this place to most parts of Europe is amazingly great, and it has been a long time in possession of the best share of the West India trade. The vin de Bourdeaux, generally called Claret from its transparency, is one of the principal exports. The merchants of this place, before the late commotions, were opulent, and lived in a splendid style. The theatre is the most magnificent in France. Bourdeaux and Marseilles may, upon the whole, be regarded as nearly on an equality with New York and Philadelphia, with this difference, however, that the French cities are upwards of two thousand years older than those of America.

Nantes, although inferior to Marseilles and Bourdeaux, is a large commercial city, comprising a population of between fifty and sixty thousand persons. It is situated on the Loire, and has several fine new streets, with a splendid theatre, and extensive suburbs. Before the revolution, Nantes was the principal port in France for the slave trade; and had greatly mented its wealth by the traffic of human flesh. Port rient and Havre de Grace are also considerable trading ns. The commerce of Calais, Dunkirk, and Boulogne, never very extensive; but in time of war they carry on

the business of privateering with great assiduity, and often, with considerable success. These three last are strongly fortified. Boulogne has been, during the revolutionary war, a great rendezvous for troops, and a place of bustling resort on account of the preparations for the invasion of England.

Brest and Toulon are the two great naval arsenals of France. The former is situated on the north side of an exceedingly fine bay opening into the Atlantic by a narrow and difficult entrance, which secures the shipping from any attack of an enemy. The quay extends about a mile in length, and within is every species of accommodation for a fleet. It is supposed to contain about thirty thousand inhabitants. Toulon exceeds Brest in extent and population, as well as in grandeur. It has two harbours, both of which have an outlet into the spacious road or harbour, which is formed by nature almost circular, and surrounded with hills. This town will be rendered memorable, in the history of the French revolution, by its surrender to the English in 1793, and the dreadful consequences which ensued. It has been several times almost depopulated by the plague, having suffered no less than nine different visitations of that dreadful disease, since the commencement of the fifteenth century, the last of which happened in the year 1720.

The shores of France present few islands of any great importance. Those on the western coast are of inconsiderable extent, and of little celebrity, excepting the isle of Oleron famous for a code of maritime laws promulgated about A. D. 1194, by Richard I. king of England, to whose French dominions this island was an appendage. Belleisle, about nine miles long, and three broad, is almost surrounded with steep rocks. It contains a town called Palais, with a strong citadel; but, notwithstanding the difficulty of access, and the strength of the fortifications, it surrendered to the British arms June 1st 1761, after having for some weeks made gallant defence.

Corsica is the most important and extensive of all the French islands, in the number of which it has not till lately, been classed, as it lies nearer to Italy than to France, and was not annexed to the dominions of the latter, till after the middle of the last century. The language and manners of the people also were till of late, rather Italian than French. This island is more remarkable for the courage and bravery of its inhabitants, and the noble stand which they successively made against the power of Genoa, and of France, than for any natural advantages which it possesses. The country is mountainous, barren, and ill cultivated; the air thick and unwholesome. Wheat and other grain are produced in the vallies, and a variety of fruits, such as olives, grapes, figs, and almonds, on some of the hills; but the general aspect of the country presents a picture of sterility. This island has often changed its masters, having been successively, under the dominion of the Carthaginians, the Romans, the Saracens, the Pisans, the Genoese, and the French, of whose empire it now forms a department. Corsica had derived celebrity from the courage and conduct of that illustrious patriot, Paschal Paoli, and has obtained a still more lasting memorial, in the page of history, by giving birth to Napoleon Bonaparte.

GENERAL HISTORY.

France, the ancient Gaul, was, from the earliest ages of historical record, a country of abundant fertility and vast population; it was divided into a number of independent and unconnected states, and had no common centre of political union. The Gauls were frequently involved in intestine wars, and their confederacies were totally inadequate to any grand system of national enterprise, founded in general concert. Some of the Gallic tribes, however, at different epochs, made formidable inroads into other countries, and carried their con-

quests to a great extent. At a remote period of antiquity they subdued most of the countries on the south side of the Danube, from the Alps to the Euxine, and passing over into Asia Minor, established a colony in the district, which derived from these conquerors the name of Galatia or Gallo-Grecia. The northern parts of Italy, formed a part of Gaul, until it fell under the dominion of the Romans to whom it had long been known by the name of Gallia Cisalpina, in contradistinction to Gallia Transalpina, the modern France. About four centuries before the Christian era, Brennus, a Gallic chief, with a numerous army, took and destroyed the city of Rome. From this time the Romans considered the Gauls as their most formidable enemies. At last after a war of ten years, the whole of Gaul was, by the courage and skill of Julius Cæsar, brought under the Roman dominion, and constituted one of the most valuable and flourishing provinces of the empire.

This country remained nearly five hundred years under the Roman yoke, and its history is intimately blended with that of Rome. In the reign of the emperor Honorius, the Goths having ravaged Italy, Astolphus, their king, brother of the famous Alaric, concluded a treaty of peace with the emperor, and, having married the sister of that monarch, established a Gothic kingdom in the southern part, called Gallia Narbonensis. The Burgundians, about the same time, seized on the eastern parts, and the Franks, a German nation, having afterwards invaded and conquered the whole country, conferred on it the modern name of France.

The first king of this nation, whose name history records, is Pharamond. His reign is placed about A. D. 424; and he is generally considered as one of the chief legislators of the Franks. He was succeeded by Merovee, and from this prince the first race of kings received the appellation of Merovingians. He died A. D. 468. Childeric, his son and successor, died A. D. 481, and was succeeded by his son Clovis. The

early history of the French nation, and the actions of its primitive monarchs, are so involved in obscurity that the president Henault has chosen to begin his chronological series from Clovis, and fixes the victory of that prince over Syagrius, the Roman general, about A. D. 486, as the first important epoch. The power of Clovis was first established by his valour, and a variety of circumstances contributed to increase it. The Gauls having been harassed by a multiplicity of tyrants, were weary of the Roman domination, and regarded Clovis as a deliverer. They were strongly attached to Christianity, and he gained their affections by favouring their bishops. The superstitious attachment of the Franks to paganism, however, was to be overcome, before their king could make a public profession of Christianity. His prudence suggested an expedient for influencing the minds of an ignorant people. After his defeat of the Alemanni, he piously, or politically, ascribed that victory to the god of the Christians, whom he declared he had invoked during the battle, binding himself with a vow to embrace Christianity, if crowned with success. This declaration operated so powerfully on the minds of the Franks, that, when Clovis was baptized, almost the whole nation followed his example. This new follower of the Prince of Peace now began to extend his conquests. He attacked the Gothic kingdom of Toulouse, which was founded by Adolphus, brother of Alaric, the plunderer of Rome. The Gallic clergy, who were zealous Catholics, favoured his pretensions to the dominions of the Arian Visigoths, and the battle of Vouglé, in the vicinity of Poitiers, in which their king was slain, annexed to the kingdom of the Franks, that of the Visigoths, comprising all the country between the Pyrenees, the Rhone, and the Loire.

Before the reign of Clovis, the kings of the Franks genelly resided at Soissons, but that prince made Paris the caital of his dominions, about A. D. 508, and carried the Goic crown, regalia, and treasures, from Toulouse to that ty. This first Christian monarch of the French, after a reign

of thirty years, the latter part of which he had employed in endeavouring to expiate his crimes, by building and endowing churches and monasteries, died A. D. 511.

The death of Clovis was scarcely less fatal to the prosperity of the French monarchy, than his life had been conducive to its aggrandizement. His four sons divided among them his extensive dominions. The empire of the Franks, being thus partitioned into four independent kingdoms, soon began to exhibit a scene of savage wars and murderous contention, which ended in the union of the whole, under Clotaire. The death of this prince, however, A. D. 562, occasioned a second partition of the monarchy among his sons, who, like those of Clovis, were four in number: and the experience of the evils resulting from the former division did not prevent their repetition. These princes divided the four former kingdoms among themselves, by lot. All the evils of disunion were again experienced; and the intestine wars, the perfidies, and cruelties, of which France had lately been the theatre, were renewed with the most horrid aggravation. After many years of civil hostility, carried on with the most vindictive spirit, and in the most sanguinary manner, the destruction of multitudes of princes of the royal family left Clotaire II. son of Chilperic and Fredegonda, sole monarch of France. He re-established the public tranquillity, and was the third prince who ruled over the whole united kingdom. Clotaire II. died A. D. 628, universally regretted by his subjects. With him expired all the glory of the Merovingian race. The succeeding princes of that dynasty were plunged in sensuality, vice, and inactivity. Dagobert, son and successor of Clotaire, by his vices, weakened and debased the royal authority, and burdened the people with taxes to support his debaucheries, or to furnish the means of expiating them by pious profusion. His espousal of three wives all living at the same time, and the number of his concubines, are evidences of the corruption of his morals; and the bequest of eight thousand pounds weight of lead to cover th-

abbey and church of St. Denis, which he had founded, was his last attempt to purchase the forgiveness of heaven. The kingdom, after his death, was divided between his two sons, Sigebert of Austrasia, and Clovis II. king of the rest of France. These princes, however, had only a nominal authority, and the regal power was now absorbed by that of the mayors of the palace. Of these officers there were two, one in each kingdom, and they soon had the influence and address to render their posts hereditary. Pepin, surnamed the elder, the first conspicuous ancestor of the family of Charlemagne, had been mayor of the palace, under Dagobert, and continued in that post, under Sigebert, king of Austrasia. He died A. D. 639, and was succeeded in his office by Grimoald, his son. To trace the uninteresting contentions of those unsettled times, in which the intrigues of the mayors of the palace succeeded through the weakness and inactivity of the kings, would be now to little purpose. It suffices, therefore, to observe, that, from the reign of Dagobert I. to the expulsion of the Merovingian dynasty, including a period of about a hundred and six years, the government of France exhibited a singular political phenomenon; a long continued succession of kings without power, and of ministers invested with sovereign authority, constituting two hereditary races, one of nominal, the other of real monarchs. During this long space of time, the talents and activity of the mayors of the palace, form a striking contrast with the imbecility and indolence of the kings; Pepin d'Heristal, Charles Martel, and Pepin his son, who, at length, assumed the regal title, and was the first of the Carlovingian dynasty, governed France as mayors of the palace during the space of fifty years, and on all occasions displayed equal prudence and fortitude; while the kings, neither knowing nor caring what ıssed in the kingdom, were little more than decorated ima- ;, occasionally shown to the people. Those degenerate de- ndants of the warlike chiefs of the Franks, devolved the business of the government on the mayors of the pa-

a general or chieftain, by the Roman writers commonly dignified with the title of king, whose authority was almost entirely limited to military affairs. National concerns were debated in their general councils. Their armies were composed of volunteers, who followed their chief without pay, in quest of plunder, or in search of new settlements. Cæsar and Tacitus represent the Gallic and German soldiers entirely as volunteers, accompanying their chief from inclination, and not from compulsion. But if the commander could not order them to march, his authority was undoubtedly great, after they had taken the field. They considered their conquests as common property, in which all had a right to share, as all had contributed to the acquisition. The distribution was made by lot. Their conquests, in the Roman provinces, show that the division was very unequal. Military rank and distinction seem to have determined the mode of partition. But the best share was taken by the great officers.

At the era in which the Commentaries of Cæsar were written, society was, among many of the German tribes, in its rudest state. They neglected agriculture, and, like the ancient Scythians, and their descendants, the modern Tartars, subsisted by hunting and pasturage.

Among the ancient Germans, every individual was at liberty to make a choice of military or civil pursuits. When an expedition was proposed by any of their chiefs, the leader and such as approved of the cause, rose up and declared their intention of following him. As every individual was thus independent, it was the grand object of the German chiefs to gain adherents, and attach them to their persons and interests. Their services, being wholly voluntary, were gained and preserved by presents of arms and horses, as well as by profuse entertainments. When landed property was rendered permanent, the military chief then become a great proprietor, and rewarded his adherents with grants of land, attended with a variety of conditions; and here we have the origin of feudal tenures, and all the obligations of vassalage.

In their military expeditions, all the booty, of whatever kind, was divided, by lot, according to military rank. The conquered lands were thus apportioned, and every warrior seized the part that fell to his share, as a settlement acquired by his sword, and possessed it, as a free man, in full property, independent of any superior lord. But as property acquired by conquest, was still in danger of being lost by the same means, they saw the necessity of coming under a general obligation of defending the community. This, like most other social compacts, seems to have been, at first, established by a kind of tacit consent, and afterwards rendered more explicit by legal ordinances. In the history of the Franks, this obligation may be traced back to an early period. It appears, indeed, to have been a primitive idea in their politics, that, every man, within certain limits of age, was to be considered as a soldier, and obliged, on pressing occasions, to repair to the national standard.

Under whatever conditions the barbarians of the north divided the waste and half cultivated lands which they conquered from neighbouring tribes, as barbarous as themselves, they soon perceived the necessity of close union, and of a systematic arrangement of military force. The general, under whose banners they had achieved the conquest, was considered as the head of the colony, and had the greatest share of the conquered territory; while the rest, being divided according to the different degrees of military rank, every officer or soldier received his share, under the condition of appearing in arms, whenever the common cause might render it necessary. This division of property, and its conditions, gave rise to the feudal system, a form of government before unknown in the southern countries of Europe. The king, or general parcelled out his lands, obliging those on whom he bestowed them, to attend him in all his military enterprises; and by this superior allotment, had it in his power to reward past services, or attach to his interests new followers. The nobles followed his example, and annexing the same condi-

tions to their grants of land, enabled themselves to appear like independent sovereigns, at the head of their numerous vassals. A feudal kingdom was, in its original formation, nothing more than a military establishment. A victorious army, cantoned out in the country which it had conquered, was arranged under its proper officers, who were bound to hold themselves in readiness to assemble and act, whenever occasion should require their united operation. This arrangement, though apparently regular, wanted a due subordination, and was often dissolved into anarchy. From the sketch here given, of the natural progress of barbarian society, it appears highly probable that the first outlines of the feudal system, had been formed among the nations to the north of the Danube, at the same time that the appropriation of lands took place; although, like other political institutions, it acquired a more regular form, as they advanced in civilization.

Under the vigorous administration of Charles Martel, and that of Pepin, his son, while the latter was only mayor of the palace, France had begun to assume an appearance very different from that which it had made since the death of Clovis, its founder. The division of the kingdom, so often repeated, had been a source of anarchy, hostile to science and literature, to religion and morals, to civil security and political greatness. The accession of Pepin gave a new lustre to the throne; and, under a king equally prudent and brave, France acquired a decided preponderancy in the political scale of that age. Pepin, indeed, although not allied to the family of Clovis, ascended the throne of the Merovingians with every advantage in his favour. He was encouraged by pope Zachary, who, like himself, was a man of talents and enterprise. Through his influence, as well as in gratitude for favours received from Pepin, the clergy of France supported his pretensions. The nobles respected him for his bravery, and the people despised their pageant kings, whose names were seldom mentioned. Pepin is said to have proposed to the pope a case of conscience, worthy to be investigated by papal in-

fallibility. The question to be decided was, whether a prince incapable of governing, or a minister invested with royal authority, and supporting it with dignity, ought to have the title of king. The pope decided in favour of the minister, and his decision removed every scruple, if any existed. The king was shut up in a monastery, and the minister was raised to the throne. In order to confer a kind of divine character on royalty, Pepin, in imitation of the Jewish kings, was solemnly crowned, and anointed with consecrated oil, a ceremony unknown to his predecessors.

Success attended the policy of the pope in favouring Pepin's usurpation. Astulphus, king of the Lombards, had seized on the exarchate of Ravenna, which had hitherto been subject to the eastern empire. After this success, he laid claim to Rome, and marched his army towards that city. Stephen III. then pope, alarmed at his approach, tried to negotiate, and sent him a solemn embassy. But prayers and presents were ineffectual; the king of the Lombards resolved to reign in Rome.

Convinced that force must be repelled by force, Stephen went in person to Paris, to implore the assistance of the monarch of France. Pepin marched twice across the Alps, recovered the exarchate, and conferred it on the pope. Thus he repaid the papal favour with interest, and laid the foundation of the temporal power of the see of Rome. Stephen, not to be wanting in gratitude, anointed him again with the holy unction, and performed the same service for his two sons, Carloman and Charles, constituting each of them a patrician of Rome. But the successes of Pepin in Italy, were not the only glories of his reign. He was victorious over the Saxons, the Sclavonians, the Bavarians, and the duke of Aquitaine, whose duchy he annexed to the crown of France, of which it had been formerly held as a fief. Having equally aggrandized his power and his fame, and acquired the respect both of his subjects and his neighbours, he died A. D. 768, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign, which had been uniformly glorious and successful.

The two sons of Pepin, Carloman and Charles, known by the name of Charlemagne, succeeded their father. But the death of Carloman, which happened soon afterwards, secured the public tranquillity, by leaving Charles sole master of the kingdom. The ambitious and enterprising genius of this prince, now began to form projects, of which the successful execution has rendered his name immortal: his reign introduced a new era and operated an important revolution in the political system of Europe. His first military expedition was against the Saxons whom he defeated. The conquest of the kingdom of the Lombards was his next achievement. Desiderius then swayed the sceptre of Lombardy. Charles and Carloman had married the two daughters of that prince, and the latter had left two sons by his wife, but Charles had divorced his consort, and espoused Ildegarda, a princess of Swabia. Bertha, the widow of Carloman, apprehensive for the safety of herself and her children, after the death of her husband, fled to her father, and put herself, and her two sons, under his protection. Desiderius, who was extremely incensed against Charles for divorcing his other daughter, received them with kindness, and solicited Pope Adrian I. to crown and anoint the young princes, as successor to Carloman. The pope, fearful of incurring the displeasure of Charles, durst not comply with this request, and Desiderius, exasperated at his refusal, having ravaged the papal territory, prepared to lay siege to Rome. In this emergency, Adrian had recourse to France, implored the assistance of Charlemagne, and invited him to the conquest of Italy. The French monarch received the pope's invitation with pleasure. He immediately collected a force for the conquest of Lombardy. Desiderius, apprised of these formidable preparations, detached several bodies of troops to guard the passes of the Alps. But Charlemagne sent a detachment, which fell unexpectedly on the Lombards by whom the defiles were guarded. The enemy being thus surprised, fled in the utmost confusion. Charles now entered Italy without opposition;

while the king of the Lombards, unable to keep the field, retired to Pavia, his capital. Charlemagne, with his whole army, immediately invested that city; but the vigorous defence which it made, obliged him to convert the siege into a blockade. He then marched with a part of his forces against Verona; which, after a desperate resistance, was compelled to surrender. The siege of Pavia was now recommenced. The Lombards continued to defend their capital with desperate valor, till the horrors of pestilence, added to the calamities of war, compelled them to surrender. The unfortunate Desiderius, with his queen and children, as well as his daughter Bertha, Carloman's widow, and her sons, who had been taken at Verona, all fell into the hands of the conqueror, and were sent into France. Charles, now claiming the dominions of Desiderius, by right of conquest, was crowned king of Italy, A. D. 774, with the iron crown of the Lombard princes.

The next step of the conqueror was to settle the government of his new kingdom. After consulting the pope on this important subject, he prudently permitted the people to live under their former laws, and ratified all the existing establishments. He committed the borders or marches of his newly acquired territories to the care of different officers, who were styled Counts of the Marches and from this circumstance the title of Marquis derives its origin. National affairs of importance were settled in the general assembly of all the bishops, abbots, and barons, of the kingdom.

Affairs being thus settled in Lombardy, Charlemagne immediately turned his arms against the Saxons, who had violated the former treaty, and massacred a body of French troops. Marching rapidly from Italy into Germany, he defeated the barbarians, and obliged them to sue for peace. Almost every year of his reign was marked by some military enterprize, and signalized by some important success. In the year 778, he undertook an expedition into Spain, at the solicitation of the Moorish governors of Saragossa and Arragon, who, having revolted against Abdurrahman, king of

Cordova, had implored the assistance of the French monarch, offering to acknowledge him as their sovereign. Charlemagne accepted, with joy a proposal which furnished him with a pretext for extending his sway beyond the Pyrenées. Entering Spain with all possible expedition, he took Pampeluna and Saragossa; re-established the Moorish governors; and received the homage of the princes whose territories were situated between the Pyrenées, and the river Ebro. Soon afterwards he marched in a kind of triumph through Italy to Rome, where the pope anointed and crowned his two sons Pepin and Louis, kings of Lombardy and Aquitaine. His attention was now turned to the affairs of Germany, where a general revolt of the Saxons rendered his presence necessary. A detailed narrative of the wars that ensued with that barbarous, but brave and independent people, and which, with occasional intervals, lasted above thirty years, would at this day be uninteresting. The valor of the Saxons great as it was, rendered them not an equal match for the superior discipline and military skill of the troops of France. After many battles fought, numberless cruelties committed, and oceans of blood spilt, on both sides, the Saxons were at last completely subjected, and Germany became a part of the empire of Charlemagne. A furious zeal for religion, joined to an insatiable lust of dominion, actuated all his conduct; and the conversion of the Saxons to Christianity seems to have been a principal object of his ambition. With indefatigable labor, and a prodigious effusion of blood, he at length gained his point. Witikind, the famous Saxon leader, embraced the religion of the Redeemer; and all his subsequent conduct exhibited convincing proofs of the sincerity of his conversion. But he could not inspire his associates with similar sentiments. The most resolute and daring spirits, on the final reduction of their country, preferring expatriation to subjection, retired into Scandinavia. Here actuated by the most vindictive hatred against the dominion and religion of the Franks, they and their descendants became the

instigators and associates of the Danes, and the Normans in their predatory expeditions, which, about that time, began to be formidable to all the maritime countries of Europe.

The Saxons had been so often subdued, and had so often revolted, that Charlemagne, now finding himself superior to all opposition, resolved to render the subjection of their country complete and perpetual. With this view, he took the decisive measure of removing them from Germany, and distributing them throughout Flanders, Helvetia, and various other parts of his dominions, where they soon mixed with the mass of the inhabitants. Their country was repeopled by colonies from Sclavonia. By this arrangement, he placed his power, in that quarter, almost beyond the control of events, while new conquests shed additional glory on his declining years. He made himself master of the kingdom of the Avars, formerly that of the Huns, comprising modern Austria and Hungary. All France and Germany, part of Spain, the Netherlands, and Italy, as far as Benevento, were, at the same time, under his dominion. His power was now uncontrolable, and his reputation approached its meridian. Leo III. had succeeded Adrian I. in the papacy; and, like his predecessors, acknowledged the sovereignty, and courted the friendship of the French monarch. In the third year of his pontificate, Campule and Paschal, two nephews of the preceding Pope, accused him of heinous crimes, attacked him in the public street, and wounded him in several places. Leo was dragged, half dead, into the church of St. Mark, and having effected his escape, the duke of Spoletto, the French general, granted him an escort to conduct him to Charlemagne. That prince received him with every possible mark of respect; sent him back with a numerous retinue; and, soon afterwards, followed, in person, to investigate the affair. On his arrival at Rome, he convoked an assembly of bishops and nobles, to examine the accusation brought against the Pontiff, who purged himself by oath, no proof of criminality being adduced. After this extraordinary trial a singular scene was exhibited,

which had undoubtedly been preconcerted between Charlemagne and the Pope. On Christmas day, while the king assisted at mass in the church of St. Peter, the sovereign Pontiff, approaching him, placed an imperial crown on his head. Struck with the sight, the people immediately exclaimed, "Long life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by the hand of God! Long live the great and pious emperor of the Romans!" The pope then conducted him to a magnificent throne prepared for the purpose, and presented him with the imperial robe. His title was soon universally acknowledged, and embassies were sent to congratulate him from every quarter. Irené, empress of the east, who had deposed her son Constantine, made him a proposal of marriage, and the treaty is said to have been actually concluded, when Nicephorus, the Patrician, conspired against that ambitious and artful princess, banished her to Lesbos, and usurped the imperial throne of Constantinople. Nicephorus, also fearing the power of Charles, immediately sent an embassy to salute him with the title of emperor, and Augustus; and the limits of the two empires were settled by treaty. The fame of Charlemagne extended also into Asia. The celebrated Harun-al-Raschid, the most illustrious of the Arabian Caliphs, corresponded with him, and cultivated his friendship.

The sagacity and foresight of Charlemagne, had hitherto been conspicuous in all his undertakings; and his means appeared to be adapted to the ends proposed, with singular justness of conception. But, although he must be considered as the greatest political as well as military genius of his age, it is somewhat astonishing, that he should have stumbled on that grand solecism in government, the division of empire the dangers of which, history had, so often recorded, and his predecessors, so frequently experienced. With the examples of the fatal partition of Alexander's empire, of those of Constantine and Theodosius, and the still more recent instances of the repeated divisions of the kingdom of the Franks, and their baleful consequences before his eyes; this great states-

man, and conqueror fell into the same political error. In a grand assembly of the nobles and bishops, he made a testamentary division of his dominions among his three sons, Lewis, Pepin, and Charles. The two former had, some time before, been crowned kings of Aquitaine and Italy; but still acted in subordination to their father.

Charles, now victorious in every quarter, illustrious in power and fame, and master of the greatest part of the continent of Europe, found himself menaced by a new and formidable enemy, the most dangerous that he had ever encountered. The inhabitants of Scandinavia began, about the commencement of the ninth century, to make themselves known by their piratical descents on the coasts of France and England. On the continent these ferocious invaders were, from their northerly situation, indiscriminately called Normans; in England they were known by the name of Danes; and by that of Easterlings, in Ireland. Charlemagne foresaw with concern the ravages they were likely to commit, and studied the most efficacious means of prevention. He visited his harbours, constructed a powerful marine; and appointed fit stations for his vessels, on all the coasts of his extensive dominions. Boulogne was one of the principal of these ports, and the emperor repaired the ancient Pharos of that place, which the hand of time had destroyed. The feudal levies were ordered for the marine, as well as the land service; and the nobles were obliged to appear with their vassals on board of the fleets, as well as in the armies. Nothing in fine, was omitted, that could promise security to the maritime parts of the empire. In spite however, of all these precautions, the Normans, not only continued to harrass the coasts, but in the year 808, made a formal descent upon Friezland, under Godfrey, one of the bravest of their princes. Charlemagne assembled all his forces in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, and was preparing for a decisive engagement, when all further hostile proceedings were unexpectedly suspended by the death of Godfrey, who was assassinated

by one of his followers. In consequence of this event, a peace was concluded with his successor. The emperor, and the empire, were thus providentially delivered from a dangerous and desperate invader.

Heaven had distinguished this monarch with the most signal favours, and embellished his reign with the most glorious successes; but no earthly happiness is without alloy. His domestic misfortunes now began to balance the prosperity of his public career. Death deprived him of his favourite daughter Rotrude, and of his two sons Pepin and Charles. Soon after their decease, he made his third son Louis, his colleague in the empire, A. D. 813. The ceremony of his coronation was performed with great solemnity. The emperor placed the imperial crown on the altar, and ordered the prince to lift it up, and set it on his own head, expressly intimating that he held it only of God. The death of this great potentate took place not long afterwards, A. D. 814, at Aix la Chapelle in the seventy-first year of his age, and the forty-seventh of his reign.* With him the glory of the French empire rose, and with him it expired.

The character of Charlemagne is not less worthy of attention than the events of his reign. Though engaged in almost continual wars, he was far from neglecting the arts of peace, and the cultivation of his mind. He had regular hours for study, which he seldom omitted either in the camp or the court. He was fond of the company and conversation of learned men, drew them from all parts of Europe, by liberal encouragement, to his court, and formed, in his palace, a kind of academy, of which he was himself a member. The exertions of Charlemagne for the revival of learning were not confined to the precincts of his palace. He established schools in the cathedrals and principal abbeys for writing, arithmetic, grammar, and church music; sciences, which might justly

* A more particular account of the reign of Charlemagne has been given not merely on account of its intrinsic importance, but of its resemblance in some points, to that of a modern emperor of the French.

be considered as important in an age, when many dignified ecclesiastics were unable to write their names. This emperor is said to have founded the universities of Paris, Tours, Toulouse, and several others, in different parts of his dominions.

The efforts of Charlemagne for the advancement of commerce were not inferior to those, which he made for the revival of learning. Besides causing public roads to be made or repaired, and bridges to be built, where necessary, he projected a great canal for the purpose of opening a communication between the German ocean and the Euxine sea, by uniting the Rhine with the Danube. This important operation was begun on a grand scale, the canal being not less than three hundred feet in width; but from the boggy nature of the ground, and the ignorance of the engineers, unacquainted with the machines which modern art has constructed, it failed in the execution. The greatness of the conception, and the honour of the attempt, show the extensive views of the projector. He founded, fortified, and embellished, a number of cities. By re-building many of those of Italy, which, in consequence of predatory or intestine wars, were in a state of dilapidation and decay, he first inspired that spirit of commerce for which they became, in aftertimes, so celebrated. Among these were Genoa, which had been successively destroyed by the Saracens, and the Lombards; and Florence, which had lain more than two hundred years in ruins. In Germany, he built Aix la Chapelle in the most magnificent style of that age, and made it his usual residence; and the famous commercial city of Hamburgh owes to Charlemagne, if not its origin, at least its first rise from obscurity. Before the conquest of Germany, by that prince, it contained only a few huts. He fortified it with a castle, and made it an episcopal see, from whence missionaries were afterwards sent out into all the regions of the north. Many of the fortified and commercial towns, in the north-west part of Germany, have derived their origin, or at least their im-

portance, directly or indirectly, from this emperor; and posterity must do him the justice to rank him among the small number of conquerors, whose labours were not confined only to the desolation of the earth.

He was a consummate statesman. His views were extensive. His projects were vast, but he used the fittest means for carrying them into execution; and his enterprises were almost always successful. His rigorous treatment of the Saxons may in a more humanized age appear impolitic; but it must be considered that the subjugation of that barbarous and warlike people could not be effected by more lenient measures. If Saxony was to be conquered, and the conquest secured, the iron hand of severity alone, could accomplish the work. Various cruelties stand on record against this emperor: but such is the general reproach of great politicians and conquerors, with whose schemes of aggrandizement lenity is too often incompatible. Independently of these, however, he was generous and humane. In the government of his extensive dominions, he sought to unite his own glory, with the welfare of his subjects, and neglected no means of qualifying himself for so important a task. Government, manners, religion, and letters, were his constant study. He frequently convened the general assemblies of the clergy and nobles for regulating affairs, both in church and state. His attention extended to the most distant corners of the empire, and to all ranks of his subjects. Knowing the general attachment of mankind to old customs, and to that mode of government, under which they have lived from their youth, he permitted the inhabitants of the conquered countries to retain their own laws, so far as they were compatible with the Christian religion, and the public welfare. As a proof of his benevolence as well as his policy, it may be observed that he was attentive to the interests of the lower orders of the people, in an age when they were universally, in a state of oppression, and scarcely thought entitled to the common sympathies of humanity. He appears never to have deviated from the max-

ims of sound policy, except in the single instance of his testamentary division of the empire, and seldom from the rules of humanity, except in his persecuting zeal for religion, or when his political interest seemed to demand it.

An inviolable attachment to the see of Rome was intermingled with his politics. The Popes had already acquired a very great sway in the Christian world; and the honours and advantages which he and his father had received from their hands, or derived from their influence, might render his adherence to the papal interests excuseable, on the score of gratitude, as well as of policy. The papal see too it may be added, had scarcely begun those usurpations, which afterwards rendered it so terrible, and obnoxious. But no excuse can be found for that destructive zeal, which prompted him to propagate Christianity by fire and sword, and made him guilty of severities shocking to humanity. He might, very justly, consider the establishment of the mild and philanthropic religion of Christ, as the best means of civilizing a barbarous people; but for its propagation, he ought to have adopted means more congenial with its benevolent principles.

In private life, his manners were not less amiable than his public character was illustrious. He was an affectionate father, a kind husband, and a generous friend. Frugal and temperate, his only excess was in the pleasures of the sex, in which he indulged to an extravagant degree. His house was a model of economy, and his dress of simplicity, except on particular occasions, which required a display of imperial grandeur.

His victories were numerous, brilliant, and decisive; his conquests extensive, and his successes almost uninterrupted; but, like the Macedonian conqueror of Persia, the fortune of war never brought him into contest with an enemy whose troops were equal in discipline and military skill to his own; and we have, therefore, no criterion whereby we can form a just estimate of his abilities as a general. His natural qualifications, however, both corporeal and mental, afford, in this respect, a strong presumption in his favour. His form was

exceedingly athletic, his constitution robust, and his stature almost gigantic. He was the tallest and strongest man of his age, and the activity of his disposition was equal to the strength of his body. He used to travel with the greatest celerity from the Pyrenees into Germany, and from thence into Italy. His life was a continual display of this uncommon corporeal and mental activity. He was the first prince, who, after the subversion of the Roman empire, made any attempts for the revival of learning, and the advancement of commerce and civilization, in the west of Europe. In an age of universal darkness and ignorance, the efforts of one man could make little progress towards those desirable ends; but he first gave an impulse, which never afterwards wholly ceased to operate, and his establishments eventually contributed to the civilization of Europe. Born in a dark and ignorant age, he was not free from its prejudices; but his liberal, great, and comprehensive mind, would, with a proper education, have done honour to the most enlightened period.

The reign of Charlemagne, distinguished by the exaltation of the see of Rome—the foundation of the western empire—the conquest and conversion of Germany—the foundation of a great number of cities, universities, and bishoprics, and in fine, by the establishment of a new political system in Europe, merits the space which it occupies in the pages of history. But the annals of his empire, for some centuries after his death, are little more than a catalogue of crimes and calamities; a display of the weakness and incapacity of his successors, and a register of human misfortunes. So vast a political fabric as that erected by Charlemagne, composed of such loose materials as the feudal system afforded, required the superintending vigilance of a monarch, endowed with his genius and spirit.

Louis le Debonnaire, his son and successor, although a prince of some abilities, was unable to support so vast a weight of empire. He wanted his father's decision of character, and firmness of manners. Not considering that true

religion consists in fulfilling the duties of those stations which Providence assigns to individuals, and that the practices of the cloister, form an improper association with the functions of the monarch, his mistaken piety led him into many political errors. Employing himself too much in the affairs of the church, and too little in those of the state, he incurred the hatred of the clergy, and lost the esteem of the laity. Charlemagne's apparent zeal for religion, augmented his power; but the ill-judged devotion of Louis degraded his authority. His piety prompted him to interfere with the functions of the clergy; but this powerful body would not show the same submission to him, which they had yielded to the superior capacity and decided character of his father. His greatest political error was that of which the bad consequences had, since the establishment of the French monarchy, been so often experienced. Paternal affection induced him, soon after his accession, not only to associate his son Lotharius with himself, in the empire, but also to create Pepin, king of Aquitaine; and Louis, king of Bavaria, and to invest them with the possession of their respective kingdoms. Bernard, his nephew, was already king of Italy. Thus, within three years after the death of Charlemagne, was his extensive empire split in pieces, and divided among the various branches of his posterity.

The different contemporary monarchs of the race of Charlemagne, however nearly allied in consanguinity, soon began to be alienated from one another by discordant interests and ambitious views. Bernard, king of Italy, took umbrage at the elevation of Lotharius to the imperial dignity, as he himself was also the grandson of Charlemagne; and his father, Pepin, the elder brother of Louis. The archbishops of Milan and Cremona favoured his cause, and he had recourse to arms in support of his pretensions. His uncle, Lewis, marched against him. The king of Italy, being abandoned by his troops, was taken prisoner, and the emperor, his uncle, ordered his eyes to be put out. This act of inhuman bar-

barity, excites a suspicion, that the piety and meekness of Louis, were rather the effects of superstition and pusillanimity, than of genuine religion. After this rigour toward his nephew, the king of Italy, he caused three natural sons of Charlemagne to be shaved, and shut up in a cloister. Soon after committing these barbarities, he was seized with the keenest remorse. To expiate his guilt, or to conciliate the discontened prelates, he impeached himself in a general assembly, of the murder of his nephew, and of his inhuman cruelty to his brothers, requesting the bishops to enjoin him public penance, to which he submitted. This step, if it did not atone for his sins, at least gave great satisfaction to the clergy, who being now fully convinced of his weakness, set no bounds to their encroachment upon his authority. The popes thought they might venture on any thing, under so pious a prince. They did not wait for the emperor's confirmation of their election, but immediately assumed the tiara. Stephen V. and Pascal I. made the experiment, and their example was imitated by succeeding pontiffs.

Louis married a second wife, Judith, of Bavaria, who brought him a son, afterwards known by the name of Charles the Bald. The imperial dominions being already parcelled out among the children of the first marriage, no share was left for the young prince, without taking from the other portions already distributed. By the influence, however, of his mother, Charles obtained Almania, Rhetia, and part of Burgundy, which were dismembered from the dominions of his brothers. Offended at this new division, the latter accused their step mother of an intrigue of gallantry with Bertrand, count of Barcelona; and commencing hostilities against their father, stripped him of his dominions, and obliged him and Judith, his empress, to retire to a monastery. The nobility now began to pity their humbled sovereign, and by the intrigues of Gombaud, a monk, Louis was restored to his crown, and Lotharius excluded from his share of the imperial dignity.

By the pope's permission, Louis took his wife out of the convent, where she had been compelled to assume the veil; and for her honour, as well as his own, obliged her to exculpate herself of the crimes laid to his charge, by oath, and by the ordeal trial.

The three brothers soon recommenced the war against their father. Gregory IV. then pope, glad of any opportunity of asserting the supremacy of the holy see, espoused their cause. His presence was, in those days of superstition, sufficient to decide the fate of the emperor, who found himself deserted by his army, and at the mercy of his unnatural sons. The unfortunate monarch was immediately deposed, and his son, Lotharius, proclaimed in his stead. He was, in the next place, arraigned in the assembly of the states, by the archbishop of Rheims, and condemned to do penance for life. In pursuance of this sentence, he was devested of his sword, belt, and imperial robes, clothed in sackcloth, and confined to a cell. But either the feelings of nature, and the voice of humanity, or fraternal dissentions and feudal turbulence, prevailed over the designs of the clergy, and the prejudices of the age. Louis was restored, and Lotharius reduced to the necessity of supplicating forgiveness of his injured father. Having obtained a pardon and amnesty, he was allowed still to reign over Italy. The emperor, now finding himself infirm and declining, made, through the influence and intrigues of the empress, a new partition of his dominions. He assigned Italy to Lotharius, Germany to Louis, Aquitaine to Pepin, and to Charles, France and Burgundy. This division gave fresh offence to the three elder brothers, who renewed the war against their father. Pepin died soon after its commencement, A. D. 838, and Louis, disinheriting his two sons, annexed Aquitaine to the dominions of Charles. The nobility of that kingdom, revolting against so flagrant an act of injustice, the emperor marched an army into the country to reduce them to submission. The king of Bavaria, taking advantage of this diversion, mustered the whole force of his

dominions to invade those of his father, whose misfortunes were now drawing near to their termination. The emperor immediately marched against him, and being already indisposed, an eclipse of the sun, which then happened, struck him with a terror that operated fatally on a mind, naturally weak and enfeebled by superstition. He regarded it as an omen of his approaching dissolution. Impressed with this idea, he gave himself up to fasting and prayer, till the agitated state of his mind caused the fulfilment of the prediction, which superstition had suggested. This unfortunate son and successor of the famous Charlemagne, died near Mentz, in the seventy-second year of his age, and the twenty-eighth of his reign. He is represented as a prince of great learning, for that age. But the learning of those times, was little calculated to dispel superstition, or to fortify the mind. The piety, or rather the superstition of this prince, contributed greatly to the power of the clergy, and the exaltation of the papal see; and his unprosperous reign, and those of his sons, afford the most striking instances recorded in history, of the fatal consequences of family contentions.

The extensive and powerful empire of Charlemagne, being now divided among his descendants, a disgusting scene of vice, folly, and misfortunes ensued. Neither filial nor fraternal affection could restrain their ambition. The sons of Louis le Debonnaire, soon after his decease, turned against one another, those arms which they had employed against their father. To trace minutely their dissentions, and detail with circumstantial accuracy their effect, would be little interesting to a modern reader. It is sufficient to exhibit the principal features of those dark and calamitous times, in which fraternal hatred appeared in all its horrors.

Lotharius was no sooner informed of his father's decease, than he considered himself as emperor, in the most extensive sense of the word; and resolved to make himself master of all the imperial dominions. Community of interests and danger, impelled Charles the Bald, king of France and Bur-

gundy, and Louis, king of Bavaria, to take vigorous measures against his attempts, for their own preservation. On both sides, powerful armies were levied; and a battle was fought at Fontenai, between the contending brothers. Few engagements have been so bloody; no less than one hundred thousand men are said to have fallen in that ensanguined field. Lotharius and his nephew, Pepin, were totally defeated by Charles and Louis.

After his defeat, the former retired into Saxony, and by various political expedients, raised a new army. He now appeared so formidable, that his two brothers, Charles and Louis, thought it advisable to negotiate, rather than again try the fortune of war. A treaty was, therefore, concluded, by which Lotharius was left in possession of the imperial dignity, and of the kingdom of Italy, together with Provence, Franche Compté, the Lyonnois, and all the other countries, inclosed by the Rhine, the Meuse, the Rhone, and the Alps. Charles retained Neustria and Aquitaine, or the whole of western France, extending from the Meuse and the Scheldt to the Pyrennees; and Louis had all that part of the empire which was situated on the east side of the Rhine. In addition to the evils of fraternal discord and civil wars, the turbulent independence of the nobles, accustomed to despise the sovereign, and the laws; the discontent of the clergy, and the ambitious projects of both these orders, were fertile sources of trouble. Every thing threatened incessant revolutions. Such was the internal state of the empire, while the maritime parts were harrassed by foreign invaders. The Saracens ravaged many provinces of Italy, and the Normans infested the coasts of France and the Netherlands. These calamitous circumstances induced the three brothers to enter into a treaty for mutual defence, and for settling the succession of the three great branches of the family of Charlemagne. This step seemed well calculated to prevent a renewal of the wars which had so long and so fatally convulsed the monarchy; but it proved ineffectual, in those turbulent times.

The kingdom of France had been separated from the empire since the death of Louis le Debonnaire; but its limits had not been determined, until the treaty concluded between his three sons, Lotharius, Louis, and Charles. It continued, ever afterwards, a distinct kingdom; although the imperial dignity sometimes devolved on the kings of France. On the death of the emperor Louis II. Charles the Bald crossed the Alps into Italy, and received the imperial crown, as a present from the pope. Marching into Italy to repel the Saracens, he was scarcely arrived in that country, when he received intelligence of a new enemy. Carloman, his nephew, who laid claim to the imperial crown, and the kingdom of Italy, in virtue of his father's right of primogeniture, was advancing against him with a powerful army. Charles, being abandoned by his nobles, was overtaken by illness, and died in a miserable cottage at Brios, A. D. 877, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, after having enjoyed the imperial dignity about one year, and reigned thirty-seven years over France.

The reign of Charles the Bald, like that of his predecessor, was turbulent and inglorious. Many of the maritime parts of France were dreadfully ravaged by the Normans. These plunderers did not confine their depredations to the sea coasts, but sailed in their small vessels up the rivers, and ravaged the interior. Voltaire, in his Universal History, adds, that in "the year 845, they sailed up the Seine to Paris, which then consisted only of wooden houses; and that the inhabitants, with their king, Charles the Bald, taking flight, and carrying off their best effects, the Normans burnt the city, and were afterwards shamefully bought off by that monarch, with fourteen thousand marks of silver, which only served as an encouragement to further depredations." Voltaire is an animated writer, but not always an exact historian. It appears, however, from others, that the Normans several times ascended the Seine, the Loire, the Meuse, and the Rhine; and that scarcely any part of France, near the coast, or the great rivers, escaped their ravages. This, as well as the preceding

reign, was likewise marked by the exaltation of the church and the nobility. Charles was incapable of maintaining the rights of the crown, either against the usurpations of the papal see, or the encroachments of his own subjects; and he gave a deadly blow to the royal authority in the last capitulary of his reign, which renders public honours and employments hereditary.

Louis the Stammerer succeeded his father, Charles the Bald, but was obliged to purchase the crown at the price which the bishops and nobles imposed, granting emoluments and privileges to the former, and heaping on the latter, lands, offices, and honours. This prince reigned only eighteen months, and was succeeded by his two sons, Louis III. and Carloman. In this joint reign, France suffered a considerable dismemberment. Boso, brother-in-law to Charles the Fat, by the influence of the pope and the clergy, procured the establishment of the new kingdom of Arles, which comprised Provence, Dauphine, Lyonnois, and Franche Compte, together with part of Burgundy. Louis III. dying without issue, left Carloman, his brother, in possession of the crown of France, which, at his death, A. D. 884, devolved on Charles the Fat. The latter was already possessed of the imperial dignity, when he ascended the throne of France. With this union of the imperial and royal crowns, he acquired an extent of dominions almost equal to that of Charlemagne; but being too weak to support such an extent of fortune, he sunk under its weight. The most remarkable transaction of this reign, was the siege of Paris, by the Normans, in the year 885 and 886; an event greatly celebrated by the French historians. The Parisians defended their city with dauntless resolution, nearly two years, against an army of above thirty thousand men, and the combined efforts of courage and stratagem. The emperor and king at length came to the relief of the city, and made his appearance at Montmartre, with the whole military force of his dominions. But finding the Normans not in the least intimidated by the sight of his armed

multitude, he preferred a shameful negotiation to a doubtful engagement, and purchased their retreat with a large sum of money. He permitted them also to winter in Burgundy, and continue their ravages, until the stipulated sum could be paid. Charles had never been respected; but this ignominious treaty, and its consequences, put the finishing stroke to his disgrace. His subjects revolted. The unfortunate prince was deposed, and reduced to subsist on the liberality of the bishop of Mentz; and soon afterwards died in distress and obscurity. Eudes, count of Paris, and its gallant defender, was then elected king of France; but he only agreed to hold the kingdom in trust, for Charles the Simple, the acknowledged heir of the family of Charlemagne. France, notwithstanding the courage and abilities of Eudes, still continued a theatre of contention; and this prince died A. D. 898, without being able to remedy the disorders of the state.

The reign of Charles the Simple, who was now acknowledged king in his own right, is distinguished by the usurpations of the nobles and governors of provinces, and by the establishment of the Normans in France. In this reign also, the imperial sceptre was transferred from the family of Charlemagne; and the western or German empire rendered elective. This revolution was occasioned by the weakness of Charles the Simple, who possessed not power to enforce his rights. The capitularies of Charles the Bald, had given the first blow to the royal authority, and this reign completely destroyed it. The nobles now aspired openly to independence. The governors of provinces usurped the governments with which they had been entrusted, and extorted confirmations of them from the king, for themselves and their heirs, on the easy condition of an empty homage. Hence arose the titles and sovereignty of the dukes of Burgundy, Brittany, Aquitaine, Gascony, Languedoc; the counts of Flanders, Champagne, Toulouse, &c: who were independent sovereigns in their respective territories, and barely recognized their vassalage to the crown. The kings of France, from this

period, became, under the power of their vassals, what those of the first race had been, under the usurpation of the mayors of the palace, mere cyphers in the kingdom; and the royal authority degenerated into an empty sound. This state of weakness and anarchy afforded the Normans an opportunity of establishing themselves in France, where they had been so long known by their desultory inroads. Rollo, one of their most illustrious chiefs, after having spread terror over all the maritime provinces, sailed up the Seine, took and fortified Rouen; and, being then sure of a safe retreat, set no bounds to his depredations. He now appeared so formidable, that Charles found it necessary to offer him his daughter in marriage, with the province of Neustria for her dowry, on condition of his embracing the Christian religion, and doing homage as a vassal to the crown. The treaty was concluded, and the province received, from its possessors, the new appellation of Normandy. Rollo soon showed himself as great in peace, as in war. He encouraged agriculture and industry; invited colonies of his countrymen to settle in his territory; and was strict in the administration of justice. A horde of pirates became good citizens; and their leader, one of the ablest princes and legislators of the age.

The remaining part of the history of the Carlovingian race of kings, through the successive reigns of Rodolph, Louis IV. Lotharius, and Louis V. including a space of seventy years, presents a mere political chaos, in which, nothing is discernible but the petty wars and contentions of the nobles, now grown independent of the sovereign. The whole kingdom of France was divided into a number of separate principalities, no more than nominally dependent on the crown, whose possessors waged continual wars among themselves; while the king, without power, took no part in the contests of those, who called themselves his vassals, but totally disregarded his authority. No state of civil society could be more unhappy, than that which France now displayed. The system of usurpation and oppression descended from superior to inferior,

in a long train of subordination. He who could seize on a single castle, or two, or three villages, paid homage to the usurper of a province; and acted as a sovereign over his dependents. These petty monarchs, constantly engaged in hostilities against one another, exercised an insupportable tyranny over the people. Allodial tenures now totally disappeared. The great body of the community was reduced to a state of absolute servitude, or a condition so precarious and wretched, that the few, who still possessed freedom, were happy to exchange it for protection and slavery, in an age, when all law, but that of force, was extinct. Such was the state of France, when Hugh Capet ascended the throne; the kingdom consisting of a monstrous assemblage of members, without any compact body; and the king possessing no more than the two cities of Rheims and Laon; while many of the vassals of the crown, such as the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Flanders, and others, held the sovereignty of extensive provinces.

A pretty accurate estimate of the general state of literature, science, and trade, in France, under the kings of the Carlovingian dynasty, may be collected, from what has already been said. In a state of anarchy, of violence, and oppression, neither arts, letters, commerce, nor jurisprudence, can flourish, nor civilization make any progress. Charlemagne made, as already related, some vigorous and well directed efforts to dispel the darkness which had overclouded the human mind. Some of his establishments, such as the episcopal sees, and colleges, which he founded, tended to the preservation of the little learning then in Europe, and produced some men of eminent genius, whose successive exertions contributed to its revival. The cities also which he founded, or rebuilt, in Germany and Italy, were the nurseries of civilization in the former; and, in process of time, revived the trade and opulence of the latter country. But the general state of Europe was unfavourable to their progress. After the death of that great monarch, the mists of ignorance, ac-

companying the evils of anarchy, fell as thick as before, and buried arts, sciences, and civilization, in one universal gloom. This was particularly the case in France. In that country, all was poverty, confusion, and barbarism. The period in which Hugh Capet ascended the throne, was the age of ignorance so profound, that scarcely were kings, princes, and lords, much less the common people, acquainted with the art of reading. They knew their possessions by usage; but they seldom thought of securing them by registers, as they were strangers to the practice of writing. To this it was owing that marriages, in those days, were frequently declared void; for as they were celebrated at the church door, and subsisted only in the memory of such as had been present, the testimony of witnesses was frequently unattainable, and when attained, the recollections of the names, affinity, or consanguinity of the parties was inaccurate. Hence arose so many pretexts for divorce in case of dislike, or for reasons of state; hence also the great influence, which the clergy began to obtain in temporal affairs; because they were the only persons who had any knowledge of letters.

As to arts and sciences, the history of France, during this period, makes no mention of their progress, and scarcely of their existence. It was impossible that any arts, except those of necessity, should be cultivated in so turbulent and confused a state of things. These remarks, however, are not peculiar to France, but may be applied to all the other nations of Europe, except the Arabs of Spain, among whom, arts, sciences, letters, manufactures, and commerce, formed a striking contrast with the barbarism of their neighbours. During the former part of this period gold and silver was very scarce.

The continual depredations of the Normans, carried off a considerable part of the wealth already amassed; and the annihilation of agriculture and commerce, in many parts of the country, prevented any new accumulation. These circumstances make it probable that, during the reigns of the

Carlovingian kings, France possessed a less proportion of wealth, than under the first dynasty.

Hugh Capet ascended the throne of France A. D. 987. Before his elevation to royalty, he was one of the most powerful of the vassals of the crown, being Count of Paris, and holding, in possession, that extensive district, then called the dukedom of France. The influence which he possessed in the kingdom, enabled him, on the death of Louis V. to seize the crown, after the descendants of Charlemagne had reigned 236 years, and to establish a new dynasty almost without opposition. In order to secure the succession to his posterity, he associated his son Robert with himself in the kingdom, caused him to be crowned, and invested him with the ensigns of royalty. But as Hugh was indebted for his elevation to the favor of the great vassals, he was obliged to comply with their demands, and by confirming them in the powers, which they had assumed in the provinces, to give a legal sanction to their usurpations. This prince died A. D. 996, in the 57th year of his age, and the ninth of his reign. He was succeeded by his son Robert, who was universally considered one of the best kings that ever reigned over France. But his life was embittered by an unhappy dispute with the papal see. Robert had espoused Bertha, his cousin in the fourth degree; a marriage lawful, according to our present ideas, and justified by the practice of all nations. Gregory V. undertook to dissolve the marriage; and, in the most despotic manner, issued an imperious mandate, commanding a separation of the king and queen under the penalty of excommunication. Robert persisted in the legality of his marriage, and the sentence of excommunication was, consequently, published. This made such an impression on the minds of his subjects, that the king was abandoned by his courtiers, and even by his domestics, two or three excepted; and these, such was their superstitious fear, gave to the dogs the provisions that were left at his table, after purified by fire the vessels in which they had been [illegible]

lest they should be contaminated by what had been touched by an excommunicated person. The king was at last reduced to such distress, and his spirits were so broken by finding himself an object of universal abhorrence, as well as by the apprehension of a general revolt, that he was obliged to comply with the arbitrary decrees of papal tyranny, and to repudiate his wife.

This unfortunate monarch died A. D. 1031, and was succeeded by Henry his son, a prince, who combined all the circumspection of age with the promptitude and vigour of youth. He had need of these qualifications, for his mother Constance, soon after his accession, drew over to her party a number of lords and bishops, in order to place her younger son, Robert, on the throne. Henry was, therefore, obliged to take refuge with the Duke of Normandy, whose powerful aid restored him to the monarchy. He died A. D. 1060. Philip I. his son and successor, being a minor, was placed under the guardianship of Baldwin Earl of Flanders. In his reign the crusades commenced, and in them, the French were principal actors. They merit a place in the history of the human mind, for they produced extensive effects on the political and commercial affairs of Europe. The first was resolved upon in the council of Clermont held A. D. 1095, under the pontificate of Urban II.

To view with delight and veneration those places, which have been the residence of any great personage, or the scene of any great transaction, is natural to man. It is, therefore, easy to conceive, that the Christians of an early period might entertain a peculiar veneration, for those spots which were consecrated to pious recollection, from being the theatre of the actions and sufferings of the Redeemer of mankind; and, in an age, when works of supererogation were considered as compensations made to Heaven for crimes, it is no wonder that religious journies to Jerusalem should become frequent and fashionable. The Christian Pilgrims, after encountering the expense, the fatigue, and the danger attending so long a

journey, had, on their arrival, the mortification of seeing the holy sepulchre in the hands of infidels, and were subject to a variety of impositions and insults, from their rapacity and barbarism. Every pilgrim, that returned from Palestine, related the dangers and difficulties he had encountered, in visiting the holy city; and these repeated accounts filled Europe with indignation. At this juncture, a fanatical monk, known by the name of Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens, in Picardy, having made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and being deeply affected with the dangers to which Christians were exposed in performing that act of piety, his ardent and enthusiastic mind formed the vast project of exciting the whole power of Christendom against the Infidels, in order to expel them from the Holy land. On his return, he ran from province to province with a crucifix in his hand, exhorting princes and people to engage in this holy expedition, and every where inspiring the same enthusiastic ardour, by which he himself was animated.

Urban II. who now sat in the papal chair, considered this projected enterprise as a doubtful undertaking, but finally entered into the views of the hermit; and a council being called at Clermont, war was resolved upon; the commanders appointed, and the plan of operations determined. Godfrey de Bouillon had the chief command, Hugh, the king's brother, Robert duke of Normandy, brother to William II. of England, Raymond count de Toulouse, Stephen count de Boulogne, father of Stephen, king of England, Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, son of Robert Guisgard the Norman, and many others of an elevated rank, joined in the expedition. Persons of every description flew to arms with enthusiastic ardour; the nobles with their martial followers; ecclesiastics of every order; and vagabonds and desperadoes from every country, were eager to engage in an expedition, which they considered as a propitiation for all their crimes; by which they expected to make fortunes in this world, if they succeeded, and, if they fell, to receive a crown of glory

in the world to come. Incredible numbers of adventurers flocked to the standard of the cross; and the leaders, apprehensive that the greatness of the armament, would defeat its purpose, sent off in advance an undisciplined multitude, consisting of about three hundred thousand men, under the conduct of Peter the Hermit, who marched at the head of this disorderly army, with sandals on his feet, a rope about his waist, and all the other marks of monkish austerity.

This immense multitude, without magazines, or provision for subsistence on their march, soon found themselves under the necessity of plundering the countries through which they passed. The Jews were the first victims of their rapacious fury. When Jews could no longer be found, and their wants demanded a supply, they began the pillage of Christians, as the sacred cause which they had espoused, seemed, in their eyes, to sanctify every crime. The inhabitants of the countries, through which their route lay, seeing all property involved in a scene of universal depredation, every where rose in arms, and almost exterminated this horde of fanatics. Their conductor Peter the Hermit, with about twenty thousand of his banditti, at length reached Constantinople, where he was joined by a fresh mob of Germans and Italians, who committed the greatest disorders. Their rapacity extended to every thing sacred and profane. Even the churches were not exempted from pillage by those champions of the cross. The emperor Alexis Comnenus, astonished to see his dominions suddenly overrun by crowds of licentious barbarians, and to hear of the multitudes that were following, made all possible haste to get rid of his troublesome guests, by furnishing them with vessels for passing the Bosphorus. This disorderly crowd, on advancing into Asia, was attacked by the sultan of Nice, and almost entirely exterminated. Peter the Hermit, however, escaped, and found his way back to Constantinople.

The regular armies of the crusaders at last arrived at the imperial city in such numbers, that "Europe, loosened from its foundations, seemed to precipitate itself upon Asia." The

soldiers of the cross, when mustered on the banks of the Bosphorus A. D. 1097, amounted to the incredible number of one hundred thousand horse and six hundred thousand foot. The Greek emperor at last got rid of his unwelcome visitors, as he had done of the former, by furnishing them with provisions and facilitating, as speedily as possible, their passage across the Bosphorus, into Asia.

The prodigious army of the crusaders was sufficiently numerous to have conquered the whole of that continent, had their leaders acted in concert; but they were conducted by men, accustomed to feudal independence, and equally averse to civil and military subordination. Various and fatal distempers, produced by fatigue, intemperance, and the influence of a new climate, soon diminished their numbers. Animated, however, by an enthusiastic zeal, they pressed forward toward the end of their enterprise in spite of every obstacle, and took Nice, after having twice defeated the armies of the sultan. They then made themselves masters of Antioch, after a desperate siege, and entirely broke the power of the Turkish princes.

The champions of the cross now advanced to Jerusalem, the great object of their armament; and the acquisition of which they considered as the consummation of their labours. The caliph of Egypt had, since the fall of the Turks, gained possession of that city, and, by his ambassadors, offered the Christian pilgrims all the privileges which they had enjoyed under the former caliphs. But the crusaders demanded the surrender of the city; and on a refusal, prepared for the siege. The number of these adventurers was exceedingly diminished by the sword and by sickness, as well as by various detachments left for garrisons; but their unabated enthusiasm and bravery rendered them irresistible. Never did the flames of religious fanaticism blaze with more destructive fury than in the sieges of Jerusalem and Antioch, where Christians and Mahometans vied with each other, in acts of desperate valour. After a siege of five weeks Jerusalem was

taken by assault, on Good Friday, A. D. 1099. The garrison and the inhabitants were put to the sword, without distinction of age, sex, or rank, and more than seventy thousand Mahometans perished in this horrible massacre. The streets of the Holy City were covered with heaps of slain, and streamed with torrents of blood, when the savage warriors, laying aside their ensanguined arms, advanced bare-footed, and on bended knees, to the sepulchre of the Redeemer, and, reeking with the slaughter of their fellow mortals, sung anthems to the prince of peace! Such is the power of fanaticism in stifling the feelings of humanity. Godfrey of Bouillon was elected king of Jerusalem. Bohemond had already been chosen prince of Antioch; and several of the other leaders obtained settlements in Asia. But while these zealous adventurers from France, were displaying their ferocious valour in the east, their country presented, at home, a scene of confusion and political troubles. Philip having espoused Bertrand de Montford, duchess of Anjou, while her husband, and also his own wife were alive, had been excommunicated in the same council that instituted the first crusade: and the thunders of the church, together with his own indolence and licentious life, had totally ruined his authority. The nobles insulted him every hour, plundered the subjects of his domain; and every lord of a castle became a public depredator. To remedy these disorders Philip made his son Louis, surnamed the gross, his colleague in the government. This young prince took the most decisive measures for the restoration of order. He constantly kept the field with a small, but select body of troops, which he employed against the nobles, who treated all laws with contempt. He demolished their castles; compelled them to make restitution to such as they had pillaged; and to relinquish the lands they had usurped. By such seasonable severities, exercised with a strict regard to justice, he obtained the reverence of the people, and restored order to the state.

Louis succeeded his father A. D. 1108, being the sixth of that name who reigned over France. This prince entered into a war with Henry I. of England, in which nothing remarkable occurred, and the remainder of his reign was spent in contests with the vassals of the crown, whom he so far overawed, as at last to produce general tranquillity. He seems to be the first king of France who began to recover the authority usurped by the vassals; and who, by enfranchising villains and bondmen, and conferring privileges and immunities on cities and towns, and diminishing the exorbitant authority of the seigniorial jurisdiction, paved the way for the future extinction of the feudal system, in that kingdom. Louis VI. died A. D. 1137, in the sixtieth year of his age, leaving an unblemished reputation.

His son Louis VII. who succeeded him was no sooner seated on the throne, than he began to experience the turbulent spirit of the nobles, whom his father had considerably humbled. Among these Thibaud, count of Champagne, was one of the most haughty and powerful. The king having made an expedition into his province, destroyed the town of Vitre, with fire and sword. It is said that thirteen hundred of the inhabitants, who had taken sanctuary in the church, perished in the conflagration. Such are the sufferings of the people amidst the contests of the great; and such the calamities attendant on a weak and divided system of government. In those ages the most shocking enormities were committed in the belief that Heaven might be soothed into forgiveness, by acts of devotion, or an extravagant zeal for religion. Louis endeavoured to stifle his remorse for the inhuman massacre of the inhabitants of Vitre, by the pious expedient of a second crusade. As the Christians of Palestine were daily losing ground, and Jerusalem itself was threatened, they solicited the assistance of Europe. France had poured out the first inundation, and was applied to in hopes of a second. Pope Eugenius III. to whom the deputies from Jerusalem had been sent, very wisely chose St. Bernard for the

preacher of this new crusade; and a fitter instrument could not have been found for promoting such views. Nature and education had formed Bernard for an orator. He was master of all the learning of that age; enthusiastically zealous, inflexible in his purpose, and transcendently eloquent. It was the peculiar talent of this extraordinary man to sway the human mind with an irresistible power. Accommodating himself, with admirable facility, to all the variety of scenes and of circumstances that human life can furnish; at one moment concealing himself in the recesses of his solitude, and the next shining amidst the splendor of a court, he never seemed to be out of his place. Without any title or public character, his personal abilities and eloquence obtained him a degree of estimation, superior to all authority. He was every where regarded as a saint, consulted as an oracle, and revered as a prophet. With such a reputation, and such powers of elocution, it is no wonder that he easily persuaded Louis, that nothing but an expedition to Palestine could atone for his sins.

Segur, abbot of St. Denis, then prime minister, endeavoured to dissuade the king from this romantic enterprise, assuring him, that the most suitable means of expiating his guilt was to remain at home, and to govern his kingdom with equity and prudence. But the eloquence of Bernard, and the spirit of the times, prevailed over reason and sound policy. The scene was opened at Veroli, in Burgundy. A stage was erected in the market place, on which Bernard appeared, with Louis at his side. The saint spoke first; the king seconded him, and, taking the cross, all that were present followed the example. From France, this enthusiastical orator went to Germany, on the same wild errand. He ran from city to city, communicating his enthusiasm. By the irresistible force of his eloquence, he prevailed on the emperor Conrad III. Frederic Barbarossa, afterwards emperor, and an incredible number of persons, of all ranks, to take the cross, promising them, in the name of God, pardon for their sins,

and victory over the infidels. The emperor first took the field; the king of France immediately followed, with an army of eighty thousand men. Upon a moderate calculation, the combined armies of France and Germany could not amount to less than two hundred thousand soldiers. Had they been conducted with prudence, and acted in concert, their numbers must have ensured success; but the same excesses which had disgraced the first crusade were renewed in the second; while the mutual distrust and jealousy of their leaders, totally frustrated the enterprise. Conrad first crossed the Bosphorus, and penetrated into the middle of Asia Minor; where his army was cut to pieces, in the defiles of the mountains. Louis fell into the same snare near Laodicea. The French monarch, as well as the emperor, returned to Europe, with the shattered remains of a once formidable army. Numbers of families poured out in vain, their invectives against St. Bernard, whose seductive eloquence, and deluding prophecies, had induced them to engage in this disastrous enterprise. But this celebrated orator and saint acutely cleared himself of the charge of falsehood, or mistake, by declaring that, the immorality and bad conduct of the crusaders were the cause of their ill success; as the sins of the Israelites retarded their entrance into the promised land, and doomed a whole generation to perish in the wilderness.

During the absence of the king, the state had been governed with singular prudence, by Segur, abbot of St. Denis, who had constantly opposed the crusade, and with great sagacity of conjecture, foretold its issue. The abbot was, indeed, in all respects essentially different from St. Bernard. He was of a mean appearance and low extraction; but the qualities of his mind, compensated for the defects of birth and exterior. From the condition of a private monk, his abilities raised him to that of Abbot of St. Denis, and to the government of the state. In his house was conducted the business of the court, and of the army. The cloister was often crowded with soldiers, and resounded with the debates of lawyers.

Louis VII. meditated another crusade; but his subjects, grown wiser than their prince, opposed the project, and he found them so averse, that he was obliged to relinquish it. To gratify his fondness for pilgrimages, however, he paid a visit of devotion in the year 1179, to the tomb of St. Thomas of Canterbury. This monarch died A. D. 1180, having reigned forty-three years.

In this century, and particularly in this reign, some small indications of the revival of learning began to appear. The crusades, however disastrous, had already contributed to expand the human mind in the western parts of Europe. By opening an intercourse with the Greeks, and Arabians, these wild expeditions had made the Latins acquainted with nations more civilized and scientific than themselves; and thereby enlarged their ideas, and excited a spirit of emulation. About this period too, numbers of schools were established in the cathedrals, and monasteries, both in France, and in other countries. The impulse given by Charlemagne, which had long seemed inactive, now began to resume its operation; and the colleges, which he had founded, became the nurseries of letters. Paris began to assume a new appearance. That city was become the chief seat of learning; being frequented by young persons from all parts of Europe.

Louis VII. was succeeded by his son Philip Augustus, one of the most politic and successful princes that ever filled the throne of France. At his accession, France was only beginning to emerge from that state of barbarism and extreme depression, to which it had been reduced under the last kings of the Carlovingian race. The kings of France were indeed little more than sovereigns of Paris. Henry II. of England, was in possession of Guienne, Poitou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Limoisin, Perigord, Angoumois, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Normandy, to which he added Brittany, by the marriage of his son with the heiress of that duchy: the rest of the provinces, being divided among powerful vassals, were a theatre of private quarrels and intestine wars. The proper

kingdom of France was confined within narrow bounds; and over this limited extent of territory, the king held only a nominal sovereignty. Philip, although only fifteen years of age at his accession, displayed all the subtilty and address of an experienced stateman. He soon began to check the outrages and depredations of his vassals, who, being constantly at variance among themselves, were unable to make an effectual opposition against his systematic plans; projected as they were with prudence, and executed with intrepidity. By supporting the sons of Henry II. in their rebellion against their father, he counterbalanced the power of that prince on the continent. He afterwards joined king Richard I. in the famous crusade, for which the capture of Jerusalem, by the Saracens, afforded the pretext, although ambition, the spirit of chivalry, and a thirst of military glory, appear to have been the real motives. Jealousies and divisions among the leaders, however, prevented the attainment of their object; and the Christians of Syria were left in nearly as bad a state as before the arrival of those powerful European armaments. The war which commenced between France and England, after Richard's return, was productive of no important event; and the feeble efforts of the contending princes show how much their power was weakened, and how little authority they possessed over their vassals. The mad expeditions to Asia had exhausted the military force of France and England, and left both countries in a state of languor. But the death of Richard, and the vices and incapacity of John his successor, afforded Philip an opportunity of augmenting the power and strength of his kingdom, by annexing to the crown of France, most of the English dominions on the continent.

France now became formidable to all Europe. Philip Augustus met with a check by the loss of his fleet, which was totally defeated by the English; but the victory of Bovines, which he gained, in person, with an army of fifty thousand men, over the combined forces of the emperor Otho, and his

allies, three times as numerous, established his military reputation, and gave security to his dominions. He failed in his object of placing his son Louis, on the throne of England; but conquered all the English possessions in France, except Guienne and Gascoigne. France, from a state of depression and insignificancy, suddenly rose to a formidable height of power and political consequence.

This reign gave rise to the infamous attack on the Albigenses, to which pope Innocent III. gave his sanction. St. Dominic was the apostle; Simon de Montfort the commander in chief; and the count of Toulouse, with the Albigenses, the victims. The count was stripped of his dominions; and those unfortunate people, the most inoffensive of mankind, who, in this period of ignorance and error, held to the faith and practice of the primitive Christians, were exterminated with merciless barbarity. Philip Augustus died A. D. 1223. He was a consummate politician, and one of the greatest generals of his age. Artful, intriguing, ambitious, valiant, and enterprising, he possessed all the qualifications requisite for the cabinet or the camp; but many of his measures showed him to be vindictive and cruel. His conduct in regard to the Jews, whom he expelled from his dominions, releasing his subjects from all debts due to that oppressed people, was flagrantly iniquitous.

In this reign literature and the polite arts began to flourish in France, more than at any preceding period, since the foundation of the monarchy. The university of Paris now became every day more famous; and architecture, painting, and sculpture, began to revive. About this time also the city of Paris was enlarged, and its streets first began to be paved.

Philip Augustus was succeeded by his son Louis VIII. who contributed to the prosperity of his kingdom, by adhering to the maxims of his late predecessors in diminishing the authority of seigniorial jurisdictions, and enfranchising the villains. He died A. D. 1226, after a reign of three years,

and was succeeded by his son Louis IX. commonly called St. Louis, whose reign was distinguished by his two famous crusades, against the infidels. In the first, commencing his operations in Egypt, he took Damietta; but his army was soon afterwards greatly reduced by famine and sickness, and he and his nobles made prisoners. In consequence of this disaster he was obliged to restore Damietta, and pay four hundred thousand livres for his ransom. In the second landing on the coast of Barbary, in order to convert the king of Tunis by fire and sword, an epidemical disorder broke out in his army, of which, after having seen one of his sons expire, he himself died A. D. 1271. His son and successor, Philip the Hardy, kept the field against the soldan's troops, and saved the shattered remains of the French army, which at first, had consisted of above sixty thousand men. This crusade was the last effort of that religious and military fanaticism, which had continued 174 years, and carried above two millions of men from Europe, to perish in Palestine. These romantic expeditions not only exhausted the military strength of the western countries, but drained them of their gold and silver, which was carried into the east to defray the expenses of so many princes, bishops, nobles, and knights, with their troops and equipages. That universal providence, however, which rules the world, renders the follies of men subservient to the designs of its inscrutable wisdom, and from evil educes good. The immediate effects of the crusades were disastrous in the extreme; but their future consequences were important and beneficial. The statesman and the philosopher will find it a difficult problem, to ascertain the balance between the advantages and disadvantages which result to Europe from these holy, or rather unholy wars. The popes and the clergy received the greatest immediate benefit. They were undertaken under the sanction and authority of the sovereign Pontiffs, who issued frequent indulgences in order to raise money for the support of these expensive armaments; and the sums raised by these means, were collected and dis-

tributed by their legates. Great numbers of the clergy, likewise, amassed fortunes by this religious and military enthusiasm, which pervaded the laity. Many of the nobles, who engaged in the crusades, sold or mortgaged their lands; and the dignified clergy were generally the purchasers. As these sanguinary expeditions were undertaken for the glory of Christ and his church, it was considered, by laymen, as more meritorious to dispose of their property to spiritual, than to prophane purchasers. Godfrey, duke of Boulogne, sold his dukedom to the bishop of Liege, and some of his castles to the bishop of Verdun. Many other sales of the same kind took place; and by selling heaven dear, and buying earth cheap, the clergy acquired a very large proportion of the seigniorial jurisdictions, and landed property of France. But whether this was an evil is a question difficult to decide; the fiefs could scarcely pass into worse hands than those of the lay vassals, by whom they had been formerly held. Notwithstanding the expenditure of money and the destruction of men, occasioned by the crusades, Europe, and especially France and England, derived from them many important advantages. The regal authority, as well as the wealth of the clergy, was augmented. Kings as well as ecclesiastics were the purchasers of fiefs. Numbers of the turbulent vassals fell in those wars; many great families became extinct; and their fiefs were annexed to the crown. Several cities, by advancing money to their paramount lords, obtained great privileges and immunities, which contributed to their future prosperity. The power of the king increased with the importance of the commons; both arose on the depression of the aristocratic body: and the feudal system received a considerable shock. The western nations became better acquainted with the productions, manufactures, and arts of the east, and with the ports of the Levant. By means of those barbarian wars, the sphere of European knowledge was enlarged, commerce extended, and the rights of the people enlarged.

St. Louis was one of the most singular characters recorded in the annals of history. Devout in the closet, and intrepid in the field, he united the narrow prejudices of the monk with the magnanimity of the hero. Perfectly disinterested, and scrupuously conscientious, his heart was susceptible of every virtue; but a furious zeal for religion, hurried him to butcher mankind for the glory of God. His virtues were his own, his vices were those of the times. His talents were equal to his courage, and had not his passion for propagating Christianity, by the sword, caused him to form extravagant projects, his character would have approached perfection.

From the reign of Charlemagne to that of Philip Augustus, we have no account of any marine in France. But Philip Augustus had no sooner conquered the English provinces, and become master of the seaports, than a naval force was established. It was destroyed, indeed, almost as soon as created; but it recovered itself considerably under St. Louis, and since that time, has often made a formidable appearance.

St. Louis was succeeded by his son, Philip III. and he, in A. D. 1285, by his son, Philip IV. whose reign constitutes a distinguished era in the history of France, by the civil and political establishments to which it gave birth. The principal of these were the institution of the supreme tribunals, called parliaments, and the formal admission of the commons, or third estate, into the general assemblies of the nation. Philip's quarrel with the pope, led to the latter measure. Boniface VIII. had prohibited the clergy from granting any aids or subsidies to princes, without his permission. The French monarch, who was very needy, but not less haughty than his holiness, encountered the pope's bull with an edict, forbidding the clergy of his kingdom to send any money to Rome without the royal licence. The pope sent a legate to Paris, who arrogantly threatened Philip and the kingdom with an interdict. Philip caused the legate to be seized, and sent to the archbishop of Narbonne, who kept him in confinement. Boniface, still more enraged, issued a bull, declaring

that "the vicar of Christ is vested with supreme authority over the kings and kingdoms of the earth." An ecclesiastic carried this bull to Paris, requiring Philip, under pain of excommunication, to acknowledge the pope as his sovereign, and commanding the bishops of France to repair to Rome. The French monarch threw the pope's bull into the fire, and prohibited the ecclesiastics from departing the kingdom. A few of the bishops and abbots, however, went to Rome, notwithstanding the royal prohibition; in consequence of which, Philip seized all their temporalities. Things were now come to a crisis; the sentence of excommunication and interdict, against the king and kingdom, was published. The politic prince, now finding himself in an unpleasant situation, took the most effectual means of extricating himself from the difficulty, and preventing the effects of papal resentment. He convened a general assembly of the three estates of his kingdom, nobility, clergy, and commons. This appears to have been the first instance of the representatives of boroughs being summoned to the national assemblies. The expedient was successful. The assembly acknowledged the independent right of Philip to the sovereignty, and disallowed the papal claim. Things now began to wear a brighter aspect. Benedict XI. a prudent and good man, succeeding Boniface in the pontificate, and considering the advancement of peace as the best use of power, revoked the sentence of excommunication and interdict, which his predecessor had fulminated against the king and kingdom of France. Benedict was succeeded by Clement V. a Frenchman, wholly devoted to the interests of Philip, who, in 1308, removed the papal see from Rome to Avignon, where it continued about seventy years.

About this time, a most iniquitous scene was exhibited throughout Europe; but especially in France. This was the suppression of the order of the Knights Templars. Whether their crimes were real or pretended, the transaction is shocking to humanity. That religious and military order, which took its rise during the first fervor of the crusades, had, from

its services, and the piety of the faithful, acquired ample possessions in most Christian countries, and especially in France. But the rage for crusading had now subsided; and the Templars enjoyed, in the midst of splendor and luxury, that wealth which the enthusiastic zeal of princes and nobles had bestowed, as the reward of their merit. Their riches, indeed, appear to have been the cause of their misfortunes. Some of them were accused of being concerned in a seditious tumult which happened in Paris; and Philip, with the concurrence of the pope, determined to involve the whole order in one undistinguished ruin. All the Templars, throughout France, were imprisoned in one day. They were charged with robbery, murder, and other vices, shocking to human nature. It was pretended that the candidate who applied for admission into their order, being initiated by a variety of infamous rites, was obliged to renounce Christ, to spit on the cross, and to worship a golden head, which was said to be secretly kept in one of their houses at Marseilles. Absurd as these accusations appear, numbers of the knights were put to the rack. Some, with inflexible constancy, perished under the hands of their tormentors. From others, confessions were, by violence, extorted. The treasures of the whole order were confiscated; and many of those unfortunate persons were burned alive, in different parts of the kingdom. At Paris, fifty-four perished in this manner. The grand master, and another of their principal officers, being conducted to a scaffold erected before the cathedral of Notre Dame, in view of the fire destined for their execution, a full pardon was promised them, on condition of acknowledging their guilt; but these brave men, rejecting the disgraceful offer, perished in the flames, persisting in protestations of their own innocence, and that of their order. Some historians add, that these victims of avarice and cruelty, summoned both the pope and the king to appear, on a certain day, before the divine tribunal, and that they both died before that period. Probably the death of these princes, which followed soon after,

gave rise to the story. But it is certain, that within about the space of two years after the destruction of the Templars, both Philip and Clement were summoned before that tribunal, where all the transactions of this world are impartially investigated.

Philip was succeeded by his son, Louis X. whose reign, like those of his successors, Philip the Long, and Charles IV. was not distinguished by any memorable event. On the death of Charles IV. Philip de Valois ascended the throne, in virtue of the salique law. In his reign, and that of John, his successor, and of Charles V. all that is interesting in the history of France, in regard to political and military affairs, is included in that of England, during the reign of Edward III. It will, therefore, suffice, in this place, to make some general remarks on the internal state of the country. Imagination can scarcely conceive a picture of society more shocking than that which France exhibited after the capture of king John at the battle of Poictiers. That misfortune, together with the preceding disorders of the kingdom, had produced an almost total dissolution of civil authority, and occasioned the most horrible violences. Laws were disregarded ; and the connections of regular society broken up. The troops, who from want of pay, could no longer be kept under discipline, lived at discretion. Throwing off all regard to their commanders, they subsisted by pillage ; and, associating with them all the disorderly people of the country, they infested every part of the kingdom in numerous bodies ; plundered the villages ; cut off all communication between the cities ; and almost annihilated trade and agriculture. The nobles had lost their power and influence, and the peasants, formerly oppressed, and now unprotected by their lords, were become licentious and desperate. Rising every where in arms, they carried to extremity the disorders which commenced among the disbanded soldiers. The nobles, hated for their former tyranny, were every where exposed to the violence of popular fury, and put to the sword without mercy. Riot prevailed in the cities no

less than in the country. The dauphin, afterwards Charles V. then only nineteen years of age, had assumed the reins of government; his youth and inexperience were ill calculated for such a scene of confusion. The Parisians detained him in a kind of captivity. Charles at last made his escape, and the city of Paris openly erected the standard of rebellion. The king of Navarre became a leader of the malcontents. His intention was to obtain the crown of France; but his conduct resembled that of a chief of banditti, whose design was to desolate, rather than to govern. Tired of this universal disorder, the people at last began to wish for tranquillity, and ranged themselves under the banners of the dauphin. Marcel, the seditious prevost of Paris, was killed in attempting to deliver the city to the king of Navarre. The capital immediately returned to its duty; the most considerable bodies of mutinous peasants were put to the sword, or dispersed; and France at last began to assume some appearance of a regular government.

On the death of king John, in his captivity in London, the dauphin, now Charles V. succeeded to the throne, A. D. 1364. This prince did not command his armies in person, but had the discernment to choose for their leader, Bertrand du Guesclin, a general of consummate abilities. The French, under him, were every where victorious. Poitou, Saintonge, Rouvergne, Perigord, Ponthieu, part of Limousin, and almost all Guienne, were recovered from the English by this distinguished officer, who, in reward of his eminent services, was made constable of France. Du Guesclin died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, A. D. 1380. In the same year died Charles V. king of France, in the forty-fourth year of his age, having just completed the sixteenth year of his reign. He was a prince of extraordinary prudence, being educated in the school of adversity, and tutored by experience in situations of difficulty and danger. Contrary to the general practice of the princes of that age, he seems to have laid it down as a political maxim, never to appear at the

head of his armies, and was the first European monarch that showed the advantage of policy and foresight over a rash and precipitate valour. From the recesses of his palace, the influence of his prudence was felt throughout every part of the kingdom. Without leaving his cabinet, he recovered all that his father and grandfather had lost, and dispossessed the English, not only of all their new conquests, except Calais, but likewise of all their ancient possessions in France, except Bourdeaux and Bayonne. In this reign, the marine of France, which had totally disappeared under the descendants of Charlemagne, but had been revived under Philip Augustus and St. Louis, made a respectable figure, and contributed in no small degree to the security of the kingdom. Charles delighted much in reading, and may be regarded as the founder of the royal library at Paris. He collected and placed in the Louvre, about nine hundred volumes, a very great number in that age, especially as twenty volumes were the whole literary stock that was left by his predecessor. From such feeble beginnings, arose that famous library which has become the admiration of later times.

The reign of Charles VI. may be regarded as one of the most unfortunate and inglorious in the annals of France. The accession of Charles, and that of Richard II. of England, happening nearly at the same time, placed the two kingdoms in almost the same situation. Both were under the government of minors. On the death of the duke of Anjou, Charles assumed the reins of government, and discovered indications of genius and spirit, which revived the hopes of his subjects. But unfortunately he was seized with a sort of mental derangement, from which, although he partially recovered, his judgment was so much impaired, that he became incapable of governing. The administration again fell into the hands of the dukes of Burgundy and Berri, who excluded the duke of Orleans, the king's brother, under pretence of his youth, from taking any part in the government. But the duchess of Orleans, young, beautiful, and insinuat-

ing, gained so absolute an ascendency over the king, that she ruled him at pleasure. The duchess of Burgundy, envying her influence, spread a report, that the duchess of Orleans had bewitched the king; and to heighten the odium, it was added, that the duke of Orleans had bewitched the queen. That both were under the influence of enchantment is not to be doubted; but it was only that of youth, wit, and beauty, whose beams so often dazzle the susceptible heart.

Such was the state of the court of France, when the duke of Burgundy dying, his son and successor in the duchy, who hoped to succeed him in the government of the kindom, disputed the administration with the duke of Orleans. By the interposition of friends, however, an apparent reconciliation was effected, and both parties bound themselves, by oath, at the foot of the altar, to preserve it inviolate. Notwithstanding their mutual protestations, the duke of Burgundy hired ruffians, who assassinated his rival in the streets of Paris. The court and parliament of Paris, instead of avenging the death of Orleans, accepted the duke of Burgundy's justification, and the heinous crime of murder was covered with the specious name of tyrannicide. The university of Paris had the courage to condemn the justification, and the pernicious doctrine which it involved. Valentina of Milan, duchess of Orleans, died of grief for the loss of her husband. Another feigned reconciliation took place at Chartres; but it soon ended in an open rupture. The duke of Burgundy being now possessed of the administration; the capital and the whole kingdom were agitated by the two factions of the Burgundians and the Orleannois, the latter of whom took the name of Armagnacs, from the count of Armagnac, who had joined the party of his son-in-law, the young duke of Orleans. These levied open war against the duke of Burgundy; and the capital, distracted and divided, between the two opposite factions, exhibited continual scenes of bloodshed and violence. The count de St. Paul, being appointed governor of Paris, hired a body of ruffians for the purpose of expelling

those who were not of the Burgundian party. These desperadoes, who amounted in number to five hundred, and were called Cabochiers, from Caboche, one of their leaders, committed all manner of outrages. The country was not more tranquil than the metropolis. The provinces were laid waste by constant depredations. Assassinations were every where committed, and pretended courts of judicature ordered executions, without any legal trial. A peace was at length concluded between the two parties; but their animosity was implacable, and hostilities soon recommenced. The king being sometimes seized by one party, and sometimes by the other, alternately transferred, to each, the ostensible appearance of legal authority. The duke of Orleans at last, called in the English to his assistance. A treaty of peace was concluded at Auxerre, but soon afterwards violated; and the Parisians detained Louis the Dauphin, a prisoner in the hotel de St. Paul, on the charge of having favoured the Armagnacs. Amidst these commotions it was difficult for a prudent man, to know what part to take. The king, at length, joined the duke of Orleans, in the war against the Burgundians. Such was the state of France, when Henry V. projected the invasion and conquest of that kingdom. History scarcely affords an instance of a court more corrupt, or a country more miserable. The affairs of France now became inseparably connected with those of England, and have already been related.

The three grand causes which placed the royal family of England on the throne of France were, the extraordinary valor of Henry and his troops, the civil war between the two French factions which divided the kingdom, and the assassination of John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, by the Dauphin's party, and, as it is generally supposed, by his orders. This outrage induced the young duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, to propose a treaty, which should exclude the murderer of his father, from the succession to the crown.

No sooner was this treaty concluded at Troyes, than the Dauphin, resolving to support his hereditary claim, and ap-

pealing to God and his sword, for the maintainance of his title, assumed the style and authority of regent; and on the death of Charles VI. his father, which followed soon after that of Henry V. he was crowned at Poitiers, under the name of Charles VII. The duke of Bedford, regent of France, during the king of England's minority, was one of the most experienced generals of his age. He reduced many fortresses, and it seemed probable that Charles would be driven quite out of the kingdom. The city of Orleans, an important post of communication between the northern and southern parts, was the principal obstacle to the progress of the English commander. He resolved, therefore, to lay siege to this place. The attack and defence were carried on with an equal degree of vigour; but, after many signal instances of valour performed by the besiegers and the besieged, Charles was on the point of giving up the city for lost, and thought of retiring to make his last stand in Languedoc. At this critical juncture, that historical wonder, the maid of Orleans, appeared; and his affairs took a turn, which the most sanguine imagination could never have expected. This singular character was a country girl, named Joan of Arc, who lived at the village of Droimy, in Lorraine, in the humble station of a servant at an inn. Having been frequently accustomed to act as hostler, and conduct the horses to the watering place, she had learned to ride and manage that animal with skill. The enthusiastic turn of her imagination, inflamed by daily accounts of the occurrences then taking place, inspired her with a romantic desire of relieving the distresses of her country, and of its youthful monarch. Her inexperienced mind, continually revolving these important subjects, she imagined herself vested with a divine commission, to restore her sovereign to his rights, and her country to its independence. In this persuasion, and animated by an enthusiasm, which caused her to overlook all dangers, and cast off all reserve, she presented herself before Baudricourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, and informed him of her divine mission. The governor, influen-

ced either by superstition or policy, sent her immediately to Chinon, where the French king then resided. Being introduced to the king, she immediately offered, in the name of the great Creator of heaven and earth, to raise the siege of Orleans, and to reinstate him in his kingdom, by conducting him to Rheims to be anointed and crowned. The king and court, perceiving that she might be made a useful instrument in this crisis of extreme danger, resolved to adopt the illusion; and an excellent plan was contrived to give it weight in the minds of the people. An assembly of divines examined her mission, and pronounced it supernatural; a jury of matrons declared her an unspotted virgin; and every story, that craft could invent, or ignorance believe, was used to attest the reality of her inspiration. It was every where published, that, when first introduced to the king, whom she had never before seen, she instantly knew him, although purposely divested of every mark, that might distinguish him from the rest of the assembly; and that she demanded, as the instrument of her future victories, a sword of a particular kind, which was kept in the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois, and which, although she had never seen it, she minutely described. It was universally asserted, and as universally believed, that heaven had declared in favour of Charles, and laid bare its out-stretched arm, to take vengeance on his enemies. The minds of men being thus prepared, the maid was mounted on horseback, arrayed in all the habiliments of war, and shown to the people, who received her with the loudest acclamations. The English, at first, affected to treat this farce with derision; but their imagination was secretly struck, and superstition, ingrafted on ignorance, is irresistible. Feeling their courage abated, they conceived themselves to be under the influence of divine vengeance, and a general consternation took place among troops, which, before that event, were elated with victory, and fearless of danger. At the head of a convoy, arrayed in her martial habiliments, and displaying a consecrated standard, the maid entered Orleans, and was re-

ceived as a celestial deliverer. But the count de Dunois, who commanded in the place, sensible of the difficulty of carrying on this farce, did not deviate from the regular rules of war, nor suffer his mode of operations to be directed by enthusiasm.

He represented to her that, when heaven favours a cause, the divine will requires, that the best human means should be used, to correspond with it. Thus, while she seemed to conduct every thing, she acted under his direction; and, by his instruction, she defeated the English in several desperate sallies, drove them from their entrenchments; and compelled them to raise the siege. This event appeared to give validity to her pretensions, and confirmed the general opinion of her divine mission. The French were still more elated, and the English more dismayed.

The raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of her promise to Charles; yet the other, which was his coronation at Rheims, remained to be performed, and appeared a work of some difficulty. Rheims was in a distant quarter of the kingdom, and in the hands of a victorious enemy. The whole country, through which it was necessary to pass, was occupied by the English, who filled all the fortified places with their garrisons. It was, however, deemed expedient to maintain the belief of something supernatural in those events. Charles, therefore, resolved to avail himself of the consternation of the enemy, and to follow his prophetic conductress. He accordingly began his march towards Rheims, at the head of twelve thousand men. The English troops were seized with terror; every city and fortress surrendered without resistance. Rheims opened its gates, and Charles was anointed and crowned A. D. 1430, amidst the loudest acclamations.

The duke of Bedford, in this dangerous crisis, when the English were every where beaten, or rather laid down their arms without fighting, and city after city, and fortress after fortress, were surrendering to his enemy, employed every resource that fortune had left him, and every expedient that

his own great genius could furnish, to revive the drooping courage of his troops. Always declining an engagement, he chose so judiciously his posts, as to render it impossible for the French monarch to attack him. As the last resource of his policy, he brought over the young king of England, and had him crowned and anointed at Paris; where he received the oaths of allegiance, and the homage of all the vassals of the crown, residing in the provinces possessed by the English. But an event now happened, which, a few months sooner, might have completely retrieved his affairs, and been ruinous to Charles. The maid of Orleans, to whose enthusiasm the latter owed his successes, having imprudently thrown herself into Compeigne, then besieged by the English and the Burgundians, was taken prisoner in a sally; and the regent being resolved on her destruction, ordered her to be tried by an ecclesiastical court for impiety, magic, and heresy. Her ignorant or iniquitous judges, to their everlasting disgrace, found her guilty of these crimes; and this enthusiastic, but admirable patriot and heroine, whose morals had ever been irreproachable, was cruelly delivered to the flames.

The revolution, produced by the maid of Orleans, is, perhaps, the most singular, that has occurred in any age or country, and her character, and pretensions, have been a subject of dispute among historians and divines. The French writers affirmed, that she was commissioned from God, and the English considered her as an agent of the devil. An accurate knowledge of the human mind, and of political history, will solve the problem. Some have supposed, that the whole affair originated in the court, and that Joan of Arc was, from the very first, instructed in the part she was to act. But from her examination, before the judges, in which she declares that she had frequently heard voices, and been favoured with visits by St. Catharine and St. Margaret, it appears that she was a deranged visionary; that the whole affair had originated in her own disordered imagination; and that the king and court, considering her as an instrument that might be of

use, availed themselves of the illusion and seconded it by imposture. On these principles, this extraordinary affair is easily explained; and sound reason, untinctured with superstition, will readily conclude, that the celebrated maid of Orleans was neither saint nor sorceress, but a visionary enthusiast. The whole transaction was nothing more than an uncommonly successful concurrence of enthusiasm in the maid, of political craft in the court, and of superstitious credulity in the people; all which are far from being miraculous circumstances.

After the execution of the unfortunate maid, the illusion vanished; but, as if heaven had resolved to mark with disapprobation this act of inhuman barbarity, the affairs of the English every day grew worse. The duke of Burgundy deserted their interests; the duke of Bedford soon after died; and the French were every where victorious. Paris surrendered to their arms in 1436, after having been fourteen years in the possession of the English. Normandy, and Guienne, with Bourdeaux, its capital, were conquered; and the English for ever expelled from France, with the single exception of Calais, which they still retained as a solitary monument of their former greatness on the continent.

Charles VII. died A. D. 1461, in the sixtieth year of his age, and the fortieth of a reign, which from the number of his successes procured him the surname of victorious. He, himself, was however little more than a spectator of its wonderful events. Fortune and friends did every thing for him; while he scarcely did any thing for himself. His whole life was spent in gallantry, sports, and feasting; and although he was not destitute of courage and abilities, his inattention and indolence prevented their exertion. Notwithstanding this indifference of the monarch to public affairs, they were so well managed by his ministers and generals, that France, which at the commencement of his reign was miserable and depressed, was, at its termination, flourishing and formidable. This monarch first established a standing army, and levied a tax

for its support. By this politic measure, the royal authority was considerably strengthened; the feudal system greatly weakened; and the tranquillity of the kingdom better secured.

Louis XI. succeeded a father, whose last years he had embittered by repeated revolts. The leading object of his politics was the aggrandisement of the monarchy, by depressing the aristocracy, and re-uniting the great fiefs to the crown. The nobles being alarmed, entered into an association, and flew to arms. The king marched against them. An indecisive engagement took place, and a treaty, advantageous to the insurgents, was concluded, which Louis never intended to fulfil, and which he prevailed on an assembly of the states to invalidate. His whole reign was one continued scene of fraud and violence; of executions, wars, and negociations. He could not boast of any great success in arms, nor did he make any foreign conquest; but he subdued his own refractory vassals, and aggrandised the French monarchy, by the seizure, not only of Burgundy, but also of Anjou, Maine, Provence, and Bar. He also united to the crown Rousillon, Cerdaigne, and Boulogne; the two former, under pretence of a mortgage, the latter by purchase; and, in his reign, France, as a kingdom, had nearly assumed the form in which it has ever since appeared. He greatly increased the power of the crown; and totally depressed that of the aristocracy. He was a friend to the people, but a tyrant to the nobles, whom he persecuted with a deadly animosity. He confined some of them in iron cages, and carried them about like wild beasts. Some were loaded with heavy and galling fetters, which were called the king's nets. Numbers were put to death, by different kinds of tortures, on the slightest accusations, and without any legal trial. In no kingdom of Europe, perhaps, did the feudal system receive so violent a shock, in the space of one reign. To promote this end he made use of the grand engines of power and policy. It has already been observed, that his father Charles VII. by establishing a standing force, had first begun to render the feudal militia useless. Louis

augmented this force; and considering foreign mercenaries as the most devoted instruments, and the most faithful guardians of his power, he took into his pay six thousand Swiss, at that time, the best disciplined and the most formidable infantry in Europe; and that they might be ready to act in every emergency, on the shortest notice, he always kept a considerable body encamped in one place. Charles left, at his death, a standing army of nine thousand cavalry, and sixteen thousand infantry. Louis, his successor, increased his cavalry to fifteen thousand, and his infantry to twenty-five thousand. With such a force, well disciplined, and always ready for action, the nobles, disunited, weakened, and impoverished by their intestine broils, romantic crusades, and the destructive wars with England, were totally unable to contend; and, in consequence, had no remedy left but patience, under the rod of their oppressor. Considerable funds were, however, necessary for supporting this establishment; and as Charles was the first European monarch who established a standing army, Louis XI. his son, was the first who discovered the art of becoming arbitrary, by corrupting the sources of public liberty. By exerting all his power and address in influencing the elections of representatives of the commons, in bribing or overawing the other orders; and by various other modes of political craft, he acquired the complete direction of the assemblies of the states, which alone had the right to grant subsidies; and rendered them subservient to all his purposes. As no power now remained to set bounds to his exactions, he made immense additions to the taxes, which his father had levied. Under Charles VII. the sums raised, by taxation, never amounted to more than one million eight hundred thousand, livres annually; Louis XI. advanced them to four million seven hundred thousand.

By these vigorous measures, and by a steady and unrelenting policy, Louis completely overturned the feudal system; rendered himself master of the resources of his kingdom, and established a species of government scarcely less absolute

than Asiatic despotism. In taking a retrospect of the history of France, and reviewing the degraded state of her kings, the frequent desolation of her provinces, and the constant oppression of her people by the power of the feudal vassals, candour will almost admit that scarcely any remedy could be too violent, for evils so complicated and dreadful; and that nothing less than the artful policy and unrelenting severity of Louis, could have reduced to order such a chaos of confusion. It must, however, be acknowledged that, if the end were good, the means which he employed for its attainment, were often unjustifiable, and frequently shocking to humanity. But when Louis, by every engine of force and fraud, had accomplished his purposes, he fell into a lingering illness, which warning him of his dissolution, he looked forward to the approach of death with those horrors of mind that result from a consciousness of guilt. His melancholy forebodings rendering him suspicious of all around him, not excepting his own children; and apprehending that his physician might poison him, he attached him to his interest, by the enormous salary of ten thousand crowns a month. While he thus guarded himself against his attendants, and his own family, he was equally careful in providing against any attempts that his languid state of health might encourage the exasperated nobility to make. He concealed, as much as possible, his sickness, and caused reports of his convalescence to be daily circulated. He shut himself up in the castle of Plessis les Tours, which he caused to be encompassed with massive bars of iron, in the form of a grate, with a watch-tower of iron, at each of the four corners. Spikes of iron, set as thick as possible, were fastened into the walls, and cross-bow men placed all around, and in the watch-towers. The gate was never opened, nor the drawbridge let down, before eight o'clock in the morning, when the courtiers were permitted to enter; but throughout the whole day, the captains guarded their several posts with a main guard in the middle of the court, as in a town closely besieged. In this gloomy

retreat, which bade defiance to every mode of outward attack; every secret of medicine; every allurement of the senses, and every invention of superstition was exhausted to promote his recovery, or procure his salvation. The pope sent him the vest which St. Peter used to wear; the sacred phial, which a dove brought from heaven, was transported from Rheims for the purpose of re-anointing him; and a holy hermit was invited from Calabria, whose intercession with Heaven he attempted to purchase, by building him two convents. The powers of music were employed to revive his spirits, and the most beautiful girls among the peasants were procured to dance before him, to the sound of various instruments. In spite, however, of these precautions, death, that irresistible assailant, whose entrance, neither bars, nor walls, nor ditches can prevent, at last made him his prey. He died 1483, in the sixty-first year of his age, and the twenty-second of a cruel and bloody reign. Enough has already been said to give a just idea of his character. Cruel, perfidious, and superstitious, he seems to have laid it down as a maxim, that the value of the object sanctified the means of obtaining it, how iniquitous soever they might be. This monarch, who lived in open violation of the first principles of Christianity, and whose crimes disgraced royalty, was the first of the kings of France who assumed the title of majesty, and added to it the appellation of most Christian, which his descendants still continue to bear.

Louis XI. was succeeded by his son Charles VIII. then in the fourteenth year of his age. This monarch conquered Bretagne, and annexed this valuable acquisition to the crown of France. It is a maritime province, containing some of the best ports in the kingdom, and the most conveniently situated for giving either advantage or annoyance to England. Charles engaged in many wars of little importance; but his grand expedition into Italy, makes a brilliant figure in history, although productive of no permanent effects. Reviving the ancient claims of the family of Anjou, he resolved

on the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, and undertook this great enterprise with an army of only twenty thousand men. But the Italians had lost the use of arms, and were strangers to military discipline, and to the operations of regular warfare. Charles, with his small army, traversed Italy with almost as much ease as if he had been on a tour of pleasure; passed through Florence and Rome, where he prescribed such terms as he thought necessary, and took possession of the Neapolitan throne, without opposition. His good fortune, however, was not of long duration. His successes gave rise to a general confederacy of the Italian states against him, and his expulsion from Italy was as rapid as his conquest of it; and after fighting his way through the superior numbers of the enemy, he made a precipitate retreat into France, where he died without issue, A. D. 1498.

Louis, duke of Orleans, succeeded to the throne, by the name of Louis XII. He invested Italy with an army of twenty thousand men, and took Milan. His reign was a continued scene of wars with the Venetians, the pope, the kings of England and Spain, and the emperor; sometimes alternately, and sometimes against all, or most of them at once; till at last he found almost all Europe combined against him. These bloody contests made no striking alteration in the state of his kingdom; but he lost the duchy of Milan, and all his Italian acquisitions. He died at Paris, A. D. 1525. He deserves censure for engaging in so many rash enterprises; but he must be applauded as an able manager of his revenues. Notwithstanding the expensive wars in which he was almost constantly engaged, he imposed no new taxes on his subjects, and greatly diminished the old ones. It is universally agreed, that he loved his subjects, and sincerely desired their happiness.

Francis, count d'Angouleme, and Duc de Valois, who succeeded to the crown, A. D. 1525, is famous in history, by the name of Francis I. and has received the dignified and honourable appellation of the father of letters. The whole

reign of this prince was a series of alternate wars and negociations, with almost all the different princes of Europe; but especially with Charles V. emperor of Germany, Henry VIII. of England, the pope, and other Italian princes. The king of England, and the powers of Italy were, alternately, his allies and his enemies; but Charles V. was his most dangerous rival, and the grand mover of the whole machine of hostility against him. Francis was, indeed, the only potentate of Europe, who, from the situation and resources of his kingdom, was capable of opposing the exorbitant aggrandizement of the house of Austria. His warlike genius also, and the chivalrous turn of his mind, prompted him to enter the lists against the most powerful monarch of his age. The rivalship of these two contending princes, affords abundance of materials for history, as they gave rise to wars more extensive and durable, and to political intrigues and negotiations, more complicated than had formerly been known in Europe. The system of war and of politics had now undergone a complete change. Fire-arms and artillery had superseded the use of the cross-bow, and other ancient weapons; and instead of the feudal levies of refractory barons, and undisciplined vassals, who could neither be kept nor supported long in the field, well trained soldiers were substituted, and regular modes of supply established. Formerly, indeed, the kings of France, as well as other European princes, were in the habit of employing bands of professed mercenaries; but as they had not revenues sufficient to keep them in pay, they were often obliged to disband them, or suffer them to live at discretion, when they had the greatest need of their services. It was only since the reign of Charles VII. that the kings of France had any standing army; and the other princes of Europe immediately followed the example, and adopted the same plan. In the age of which we are speaking, it was easier to protract hostilities than at any other period. The balance of power now also first began to attract the attention of European princes, and rendered the system of their politics more complicated and dif-

ficult. Our limits do not permit us to detail the military operations, or trace the political intrigues of that age, which now excite little interest. It will be sufficient to trace a few of the most prominent outlines. The first grand cause of the rooted animosity between Francis and Charles, was their competition for the imperial dignity, in which the latter proving successful, his opponent, who professed to wait the decision with the magnanimity of a philosopher, on seeing himself rejected, felt all the resentment of disappointed ambition; and his exasperated mind soon found a pretext for a quarrel. Charles and Francis had both claims on Italy; and the latter resolved to try his fortune on that theatre, on which his predecessors had often gained glory, but seldom any permanent advantage. At first, he placed great dependance on Henry VIII. of England; but that prince, as well as his minister, Wolsey, having been gained by Charles, declared war against Francis. An attempt was made to negociate a peace; but Francis, not acceding to the terms, saw himself exposed to a powerful confederacy, consisting of England, the emperor, and all the states of Italy; and left, without a single ally, to resist the united efforts of so many enemies. The defection of the constable of Bourbon, a prince of the blood, the most powerful subject of France, and one of the greatest generals of the age, increased the danger of this critical juncture. This illustrious nobleman had many subjects of complaint. Louisa, the king's mother, had conceived a violent aversion against the whole house of Bourbon, and had taught her son to view the constable's actions with an eye of jealousy. His distinguished merit had not been adequately rewarded, and he had met with various subjects of mortification.

About this time the duchess of Bourbon died, without leaving any children; and Louisa, of a disposition no less amorous than vindictive, and, at the age of forty-six, still susceptible of the tender passions, began to look upon the constable with other eyes, and notwithstanding the great dis-

parity of their years, she formed the scheme of marrying him. Bourbon, who might have expected every thing to which an ambitious mind can aspire, from the doting fondness of a woman, who governed her son and the kingdom, being incapable either of imitating the queen in her sudden transition from hatred to love, or of dissembling so meanly, as to pretend affection for one who had persecuted him so long with unprovoked malice, not only rejected the match, but embittered his refusal by some severe raillery on Louisa's person and character. Finding herself thus not only slighted but insulted, the disappointed love of the queen turned into hatred, and since she could not marry, she resolved to ruin Bourbon.

For this purpose she consulted with the chancellor du Prat, a man, who by a base prostitution of his great talents, and superior skill in his profession, had risen to that high office. By his advice, a law suit was commenced against the constable, for the whole estate belonging to the house of Bourbon. Part of it was claimed in the king's name as having fallen to the crown; part in that of Louisa, as the nearest heir in blood of the deceased Duchess. Both these claims were equally destitute of any foundation in justice; but Louisa by her solicitations and authority, and du Prat, by employing all the artifices and chicanery of law, prevailed on the judges to order the estate to be sequestered. This unjust decision drove the constable to despair, and to measures, which despair alone could have dictated. He renewed his intrigues in the Imperial court; and flattering himself that the injuries he had suffered, would justify his having recourse to any means, in order to obtain revenge, he offered to transfer his allegiance from his natural sovereign to the emperor, and to assist him in the conquest of France. Charles, as well as the king of England, to whom the secret was communicated, expecting great advantages from his revolt, were ready to receive him with open arms, and spared neither promises nor allurements, to confirm him in his resolution.

The emperor offered him in marriage his sister Eleanor, the widow of the king of Portugal, with a vast portion. Francis was then on his march towards Italy. The constable of Bourbon made a precipitate flight into that country, and entering into the emperor's service, employed his enterprising genius and military talents, against his sovereign and his native country. Francis, passing the Alps, descended into the Milanese. The city of Milan surrendered at his approach. But this success was only a prelude to misfortune. Having, contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers, laid siege to Pavia, a place of great strength, he committed a fatal error, in detaching a body of his army for the invasion of Naples. The imperial generals, in the mean while, were making extraordinary exertions in collecting an army sufficiently strong to oblige him to raise the siege. The constable of Bourbon, actuated by the most violent resentment against Francis, even pawned his jewels, in order to levy troops, in Germany, for the reinforcement of the imperial army. Every mode of attack, and every effort of valor had been, during more than three months, ineffectually employed for the reduction of Pavia; while Antonio de Leyva, the governor, gained immortal glory in its defence. The garrison, however, was now reduced to extremity, when the imperial army, under the generals Lannoy, Pescara, and Bourbon, made its appearance. The most experienced officers, in the French army, advised the king to retreat; but the romantic notions of honour, which that prince had imbibed, prevented him from following this salutary counsel. Having often declared that he would take Pavia or perish in the attempt, he determined to keep his post, and wait the approach of the enemy.

The imperial generals found the French so strongly entrenched, that they hesitated long, before they ventured to attack them; but, at last, the necessities of the besieged, and the murmurs of their own soldiers, obliged them to put every thing to hazard. Never did armies engage with greater ar-

dor, or with a higher opinion of the importance of the battle they were about to fight; never were troops more strongly animated with emulation, national antipathy, mutual resentment, and all the passions which inspire obstinate bravery. On the one hand, a gallant young monarch, seconded by a generous nobility, and followed by subjects to whose natural impetuosity, indignation at the treason of the constable Bourbon, added new force, contended for victory and honour. On the other side, troops more completely disciplined, and conducted by generals of greater abilities, fought, from necessity, with courage, heightened by despair. The imperialists, however, were unable to resist the first attack of the French army, and their firmest battalions began to give way. But the fortune of the day was quickly changed. The Swiss, in the service of France, unmindful of the reputation of their country for fidelity and martial glory, abandoned their post in a cowardly manner. Leyva, with his garrison, sallied out and attacked the rear of the French, during the heat of the action, with such fury, as to throw it into confusion; and Pescara falling on their cavalry with the imperial horse, among whom he had prudently intermingled a considerable number of Spanish foot, armed him with the heavy muskets then in use, broke this formidable body, by a method of attack, against which they were wholly unprovided. The rout became universal; and resistance ceased in almost every part, except around the person of the king, who fought now, not for fame or victory, but for safety. Though wounded in several places, and thrown from his horse, which was killed under him, Francis defended himself, on foot, with an heroic courage. Many of his bravest officers gathering round him, and endeavouring to save his life, at the expense of their own, fell at his feet. The king, exhausted with fatigue, and scarce capable of farther resistance, was left, almost alone, exposed to the fury of some Spanish soldiers, strangers to his rank, and enraged at his obstinacy. At that moment came up Pomperant, a French gentleman, who had entered,

together with Bourbon, into the emperor's service, and placing himself by the side of the monarch, against whom he had rebelled, assisted in protecting him from the violence of the soldiers; at the same time beseeching him to surrender to Bourbon, who was not far distant. Imminent as the danger was which now menaced Francis, he rejected, with indignation, the thoughts of an action, which would have afforded such matter of triumph to his traitorous subject; and calling for Leyva, who happened likewise to be near at hand, gave up his sword to him. The imperial officer kneeling to kiss the king's hand, received his submission with profound respect, and taking his own sword from his side presented it to him, saying, that it did not become so great a monarch to remain disarmed, in the presence of one of the emperor's subjects.

Ten thousand men fell on this day, one of the most fatal France had ever seen. Among these were many noblemen of the highest distinction, who chose rather to perish, than to turn their backs with dishonour. Numbers were taken prisoners, of whom, the most illustrious was Henry D'Albret, the unfortunate king of Navarre. A small body of the rear guard made its escape, under the command of the duke d' Alencon; the feeble garrison of Milan, on the first news of the defeat, retired without being pursued, by another road; and, in two weeks after the battle, not a Frenchman remained in Italy.

France was filled with consternation. The king himself had at an early period transmitted an account of the rout at Pavia, in a letter to his mother, which contained only these words, "Madam all is lost, except our honour." The survivors on their return from Italy, brought such a melancholy detail of particulars, as made all ranks of men sensibly feel the greatness and extent of the calamity. France, without her sovereign, without money in her treasury, without an army, without officers, and encompassed on all sides, by a victorious and active enemy, seemed to be on the very brink

of destruction. But on that occasion the great abilities of Louisa the regent, saved the kingdom, which the violence of her passions had, more than once, exposed to the greatest danger. Instead of giving herself up to the natural lamentations of a woman, so remarkable for her maternal tenderness, she discovered all the foresight, and exerted all the activity of a consummate politician. She assembled the nobles at Lyons, and animated them by example, no less than by her words, with such zeal in defence of their country, as its present situation required. She collected the remains of the army which had served in Italy; ransomed the prisoners, paid their arrears, and put them in a condition to take the field. She levied new troops; provided for the security of the frontiers, and raised sums sufficient, for defraying those extraordinary expenses. Her chief care, however, was to appease the resentment, or to gain the friendship of the king of England; and, from that quarter, the first ray of comfort broke in upon the French affairs.

Henry VIII. and the princes of Italy, began to take the alarm at the exorbitant power of the emperor, and to turn their attention to the political balance of Europe. Various negociations were commenced, which had the liberty of the French king for their object. A treaty was, at last, concluded, and Francis was obliged to subscribe to conditions, which he never intended to fulfil. That monarch, after eleven months of rigorous confinement, was liberated, and set out from Madrid for his kingdom, which he entered a year and twenty-two days after the battle of Pavia. The moment he reached France, he mounted a Turkish horse, waved his sword over his head, and, with a joyful voice, crying aloud, four or five times "I am yet a king," gallopped full speed to St. Jean de Luz, and from thence proceeded to Bayonne. The emperor did not delay to require, nor the king to refuse the fulfilment of the treaty; their former animosities recommenced, and continued, with little interruption, during the remainder of this reign. No important effects, however,

were produced, on the power or the politics of the kingdom, by these concussions; and at the death of this monarch, in A. D. 1547, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the thirty-third of his reign, France, notwithstanding her long wars and great losses, was potent and flourishing.

Francis was ambitious and enterprising, but inconsiderate. His personal valour could scarcely be excelled; but he cannot be classed among skilful or fortunate warriors. His courage partook of the romantic spirit of chivalry, and was seldom directed by sound policy. He possessed, in an eminent degree, all the qualifications of the soldier, but was deficient in many of those, which are requisite to the general. His encouragement of learning, and his patronage of learned men, were the most brilliant traits of his character, and render his name and reign conspicuous in history. Living at the period of the revival of letters, he seized an opportunity so favourable to his future fame, and shared, with Leo X. the glory of collecting what had escaped the ravages of barbarians, and of making the arts and sciences flourish in Europe. Francis was the father of letters, and might with equal propriety be styled the father of politeness. In the reign of Louis XII. Anne de Bretagne first added the charms of female society to the splendor of the throne; but it was not till the reign of Francis I. that they made that brilliant appearance, which rendered the French court the gayest and most splendid in Europe.

Commerce, as well as letters, began, in this age, to contribute to the civilization of Europe; and the mines of America first poured in their wealth, which has since been so widely spread. The ideas of men being enlarged, they became more susceptible of wants, which commerce and the arts alone could supply; and the intercourse among nations, being encouraged and extended, their sentiments became more liberal, and their manners more polished. Francis was a patron of commerce as well as of literature; and amidst the continued series of martial transactions, which occupied

his reign, it first began to dawn in France. Her silk manufactory, her Newfoundland fishery, and her trade with Turkey and Sweden, were, at this period, also established.

Francis I. was succeeded by his son Henry II. the history of whose reign consists of little more than the detail of unimportant wars and negociations. To his eternal disgrace, he published a decree, subjecting to the penalty of death, those who professed the Lutheran religion, and accompanied it with strict orders to the judges, not to mitigate the penalty. Some of the counsellors of the parliament of Paris having declared, that there would be no great immorality in conniving at the escape of one who had subjected himself to such penalties, he ordered five of them to be taken into custody. This prince was accidentally killed in a tournament, in 1559.

Francis II. at the age of sixteen, ascended the throne of France, and though his short reign, of seventeen months, was not marked by any important event, it was pregnant with all those mischiefs, which afterwards proved so disastrous to the kingdom.

This prince dying A. D. 1560, was succeeded by his brother Charles IX. then only ten years of age. His reign, which, during his minority, was under the regency of his mother, the famous Catharine de Medicis, was a continued scene of treasons, revolts, civil wars, religious tyranny, and political perfidy. The contests, of which religion was the ostensible, but ambition the real cause, restored to the nobles, in a great measure, the powers which they had formerly possessed, under the feudal system. A factious courtier had only to pretend to embrace the protestant religion, and to profess himself a leader of that party, to have an army at his disposal. The bigoted Catholics and protestants, incapable of penetrating the designs of their chiefs, crowded to their standards, rushed into battle, and shed their blood, not for the glory of God, as they foolishly imagined, but to promote the ambitious views of a Condé, a Guise, or a Montmorenci. Fourteen armies, at one time, desolated France. Where the

protestants prevailed, the altars were defaced, the images broken, the churches and monasteries pillaged, and demolished: where the Catholics were victorious, the bibles were burned, and the infants re-baptized. Plunder, desolation, and bloodshed, equally attended the triumphs of both parties. No crimes were omitted, that could be of service to either cause. Treason, perfidy, and murder, were the engines, which both Catholics and Protestants used, to advance the cause of religion. The duke of Guise was assassinated at the siege of Orleans by Poltrot, whose fanatical zeal for protestantism instigated him to that atrocious crime. But this act of sanguinary zeal, committed by a protestant bigot, was shortly afterwards followed by the bloody massacre of the Hugonots at Paris, effected by Catholic tyranny on the eve of St. Bartholomew 1572. The heads of that party being invited to Paris, to the celebration of the nuptials of the king of Navarre, with Margaret the French king's sister, were barbarously murdered. There fell, on this lamentable occasion, about five hundred persons of rank, among whom was the celebrated admiral Coligny.

In Paris alone, near ten thousand persons of every age, sex, and condition, were involved in one indiscriminate massacre; and the same barbarous orders being sent into all parts of the kingdom, a similar carnage took place, in several other cities. It is honourable to human nature, that there were some governors in France, who had the courage and probity not to execute the detestable orders of the court; and who were shocked at the idea of advancing the cause of religion by murder. To exhibit a concentrated view of the calamities of this reign, it is sufficient to say, that the horrors of four civil wars compose its annals. Besides the duke of Guise, the scourge of the Hugonots, who fell by assassination; the constable de Montmorenci, the greatest of the Catholic commanders, and the prince de Condé, the chief of the Protestant leaders, both fell in battle. Charles IX. died A. D. 1574, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the four-

teenth of his reign. His character has been variously represented; but his actions furnish the best criterion by which it may be judged. He was a lover, and promoter of learning; he had a taste for the polite arts; and his poetical talents were far from being contemptible: but these elegant accomplishments had not humanized his ferocious mind. If, as related by cotemporary historians, he fired on his own subjects, in the Bartholomew massacre; and by the repeated cries of "kill, kill," excited the fury of the destroyers, he certainly ought to be ranked among the monsters who have disgraced the character of our species.

Charles was succeeded by his brother Henry III. The evils of the preceding reign were repeated in this, and the civil wars broke out with unabated violence. The great nobles and governors of provinces assumed a power, nearly equal to that which they enjoyed at the accession of Hugh Capet; and parties were so equally balanced, that the royal authority, though reduced to a name, was often sufficient to turn the scale. This reign is famous for the holy league, formed for the defence of the Catholic religion, which had the duke of Guise at its head; while the Hugonots ranged themselves under the prince of Condé, and the duc d'Alençon, the king's brother. The league was supported by Philip II. of Spain, and the Hugonots by the princes of Germany. Several bloody engagements took place, in which the military abilities of the king of Navarre, and the duke of Guise, were conspicuously displayed. The latter, at last, entered Paris, in defiance of the royal prohibition, and the king found himself obliged to retire, and leave him in possession of his capital. The power of the duke was now become an object of terror; and as the league had set aside the king of Navarre's succession, Henry plainly perceived that he aimed at the crown. The duke of Guise was a man of consummate abilities, equally adapted to the cabinet or the field. Resolving to rid himself of an ambitious and enterprising subject, Henry adopted a measure, unworthy of a great

monarch. Having invited the duke to a conference, he caused both him and his brother, the cardinal, to be inhumanly murdered. This infamous action, however, produced effects very different from his expectations. The leaguers, then masters of Paris, declared that the king had forfeited his title to the crown; and a decree of the Sorbonne released his subjects from their oaths of allegiance. The duke of Mayenne, brother to the duke de Guise, was declared chief of the league, with the title of lieutenant general of the kingdom of France, and the duke d'Aumale was made governor of Paris. In this extremity, Henry seeing himself abandoned by his Catholic subjects, entered into a confederacy with the king of Navarre, and the Protestants; and, being still supported by many of the nobility and princes of the blood, he was enabled to raise an army of nearly forty thousand men. With this formidable force, the two kings invested Paris; but while they were occupied in the siege, Henry was assassinated on the 1st of August 1589, by James Clement, a Dominican friar, who was instantly put to death by the guards. Thus fell by the hands of an assassin, the monarch, by whose command the duke and the cardinal of Guise, had been assassinated; a just retribution of Divine Providence, although no excuse for the regicide.

The death of Henry III. left the succession open to the king of Navarre. That prince, however, by reason of the desertion of his troops, soon found himself obliged to raise the siege of Paris, and to retire into Normandy. The duke de Mayenne proclaimed the cardinal de Bourbon king, by the name of Charles X. and immediately left the capital to pursue the king of Navarre. The latter however having gained an important victory over the duke at Ivri, again invested Paris, but the duke of Parma, hastening from the Netherlands to its relief, he was compelled a second time to raise the siege. Henry after making several unsuccessful attempts on the capital, was fully convinced that he could never obtain the crown by force. At last, after a multitude of jar-

rings, negociations, political manœuvres, and assassinations, among the different factions, and after a war of five years, in which Henry was often reduced to the greatest distress, without money to pay his troops, and frequently in want of the common conveniences of life, he took the resolution of embracing the Catholic religion. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the Pope, to request absolution for the king. They at last succeeded, in obtaining the favour, and Henry soon after made his abjuration of the religion of his youth. The principal barrier, which prevented his accession to the throne, being now removed, every thing tended towards a speedy pacification. He was received into Paris, from whence the Spanish troops, in the service of the league, retired with the most obstinate members of that confederacy; and in less than four years, all the provinces, that refused to acknowledge his title, being reduced, he obtained the full possession of the kingdom. One of the first acts of his government was the famous edict of Nantes, in favour of the Protestants, to whom he had been, in a great measure, indebted for his advancement to the throne. But Henry, although in peaceable possession of the crown, found himself involved in numberless difficulties. The state was burdened with debts, the country desolate, and the people oppressed with poverty. The nobility, from long habits of rebellion and disorder, had lost all sense of allegiance, or legal subordination. They despised the royal authority, and sported with the lives and property of the people. Happily, however, for France, she had now a prince every way qualified to remedy those numerous evils. To this great object he directed his attention; and by the assistance of his prudent and indefatigable minister, Sully, his endeavours were crowned with all the success that could be expected, in the course of one reign. This period, although not of very long duration, forms one of the most memorable epochs in the history of France. During the space of almost a century, Spain had enjoyed a manifest superiority over the other kingdoms of Europe; but France now began to gain

the ascendency. Historians attribute to this prince a grand scheme for uniting Europe in one great commonwealth, composed of fifteen associated states, with France for its centre and head. This vast plan, which is exhibited in Sully's Memoirs, seems to have been rather a pleasing reverie of the imagination, than a serious design. Henry might amuse himself with so splendid an idea, but in his sober moments he must have considered it too chimerical to be realized. It is certain that he was revolving great designs, when he was assassinated by Ravaillac, a furious bigot, who, stepping upon the wheel of his carriage, while it was obstructed in one of the narrow streets of Paris, and reaching over the duke d'Espernon's shoulder, stabbed the king to the heart, amidst six of his courtiers. The assassin never attempted to escape, and persisted to the last in affirming that the act was entirely his own, and that he had no accomplice.

Thus fell Henry IV. the father of his people, and one of the chief founders of the present greatness of France. In his person, all the qualifications of the politician and the warrior were eminently united; he combined, with the policy of the statesman, and the bravery of the soldier, an inexhaustible fund of humanity. In private life, he was remarkable for frankness, affability and an engaging simplicity of manners. His tragical death took place A. D. 1610, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-second of his reign.

Agriculture and commerce flourished under Henry's auspicious reign. France now saw her desolated fields, again brought into cultivation, and the manufactures, established in the time of Francis I. which the civil wars had almost annihilated, began to revive. The age of Henry IV. may be considered as the era of the manufacturing system of France. Manufactures of linen and tapestry were established at a great expense. The workmen, for the former, were drawn from the United Provinces, and for the latter, from the Spanish Netherlands. The making of glass and fine

earthen ware was also attempted with success. But the manufacture of silk was that from which France derived the greatest advantage. It had first been established in the reign of Francis I. about A. D. 1521, being introduced from Milan; and all the materials were brought from Italy. Some time afterwards silk worms began to be reared in the southern provinces of France. Henry introduced these useful insects from Spain, and caused books to be written, for the purpose of instructing his subjects in regard to their management. The success answered his expectation, and he soon had the satisfaction of seeing the silk manufactures of France supply, not only a great home consumption, but affording also a large surplus for exportation so as to bring great sums of money into the kingdom. In this reign about A. D. 1601, the French began to trade to India. The age of Henry IV. however, exhibits only the commencement of a well regulated political system, and the dawnings of commerce, after a series of civil wars, and a scene of anarchy; but its improvements bore no proportion to those of succeeding times. In this reign the manners of the court and the kingdom were extremely corrupt. Never were licentious gallantry, and duelling, carried to greater excess.

Louis XIII. being a minor, not yet nine years of age, the regency was placed in the hands of the dowager queen, Mary de Medicis. His minority was one continued scene of troubles. France relapsed into that state of confusion, from which it had been recovered by his predecessor. The queen's Italian ministers engrossed all the power, and enjoyed all the emoluments of the state; while the nobles, discontented with the measures of the court, broke out into open rebellion. Concini, the prime minister, was murdered in the royal palace. His wife, who had an uncontroled ascendency over the regent, being accused of sorcery and magic, was tried, and condemned to death by the parliament. Being asked by what spell she had fascinated the queen mother, she nobly replied "by that superiority, which a strong mind always

possesses over a weak one." While the court was a chaos of intrigue and cabal, a civil war was kindled, equal in violence to any of the former. The Hugonots, taking umbrage at some of the king's proceedings, and concluding that their destruction was intended, held a consultation at Rochelle, in which they came to a resolution of following the example of the Netherlands, in throwing off the royal authority, and establishing an independent republic, of which Rochelle was to be the capital. The war, however, was no sooner commenced, than several of the Protestants leaders, seduced by bribes and promises, deserted their party. But the duke of Rohan, and his brother Soubise, both men of distinguished abilities, still remained at their head. After a series of hostilities, conducted with various success, a peace was concluded, in which the Protestants obtained nothing more, than a confirmation of the edict of Nantes. This was the state of things, when Cardinal Richelieu began to figure on the political theatre. From his transcendent genius and resolute measures, the government of France soon received new vigor. This consummate statesman no sooner got the whole administration into his own hands, than, taking a comprehensive view of the state of Europe, he formed three grand projects; to subdue the turbulent and rebellious spirit of the French nobility; to reduce the Hugonots; and to check the exorbitant power of the house of Austria.

It is not consistent with the plan of this work to trace the manœuvres, by which he carried these vast designs successfully into execution. The grand outlines of his foreign politics were, peace with England, war with Spain and Austria, and alliance with the king of Sweden and the protestants of Germany. In conformity to these plans he negociated a marriage between the prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I. and Henrietta of France, sister of Louis XIII. On the same principles he supported the protestants of Germany, against the house of Austria, although he reduced those of France. He also paid to Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, an an-

nual subsidy of one million two hundred thousand livres; in consideration of which the latter engaged to maintain in Germany, an army of thirty-six thousand men, for the purpose of carrying on the war against the emperor. This treaty, which is considered as a masterpiece of policy, contained several other articles, which do honour to the vast genius of Richelieu. The martial abilities of this ecclesiastic, were scarcely inferior to his political sagacity. The siege of Rochelle, which he conducted in person, is esteemed a chef d'œuvre of military operation. The place was enclosed with lines of circumvallation, and closely blockaded on the land side; but the citizens, animated by religious zeal, were determined to hold out to the last extremity. Their obstinate resistance baffled every effort of the besiegers; and Richelieu, finding it impossible to take Rochelle, while the communication remained open by sea, endeavoured, by different methods, to shut up the harbour. But these attempts proving ineffectual, he recollected the expedient which Alexander adopted at the siege of Tyre, and accordingly projected, and completed a mole, of a mile in length, across a gulf, into which the sea rolled with great impetuosity. The town being now completely blockaded by land and by sea, the inhabitants, after suffering all the miseries of war, accompanied with a most dreadful famine, during a siege of almost twelve months, were at last obliged to surrender, on condition of retaining the possession of their goods, and the free exercise of their religion; but their fortifications were demolished. The cardinal immediately marched into the other provinces, where the Hugonots were still formidable; and every where defeated them. At length, seeing no hopes of being able to continue the struggles, they had recourse to negociation; and a peace was concluded, on terms as moderate as could be expected. The protestants were left in possession of their estates as well as personal property, and of the free exercise of their religion, as granted by the edict of Nantes; but they were dispossessed of their fortified places and cautionary

towns. This treaty was the final annihilation of the Hugonots, considered as a political party; but they continued to exist as a religious sect. In those religious wars, as they are preposterously called, the leaders were continually changing sides, adopting the catholic or the protestant cause, as passion impelled, or interest induced them, while the people were, invariably, the dupes and the sufferers.

The capture of Rochelle had completed the subjection of the protestants; but the cardinal had a not less difficult task in subduing the refractory spirit of the catholic nobles. After a variety of cabals, conspiracies and revolts, followed by some signal executions on the scaffold; the bold and ambitious spirit of Richelieu triumphed over every obstacle. His resolute measures rendered him absolute master of the king and the kingdom. The war with Spain was conducted with no less vigour. In 1636, France had not less than six different armies in the field, at the same time.

Louis XIII. died A. D. 1643, in the forty-second year of his age, after a reign of thirty-three years. He was not deficient in natural abilities, and was endowed with great personal courage. But his glory was eclipsed by that of his minister Richelieu, one of the most distinguished statemen that ever appeared on the political theatre. His comprehensive mind embraced every part of the most intricate system. He had always the whole of his plan in contemplation, and never lost sight of one circumstance, that could either retard or forward its progress. The greatness of his designs could only be equalled, by his decisive manner of carrying them into execution; and both have entitled him to the admiration of Europe. The czar Peter the great, when he paid a visit to Paris, observing a splendid mausoleum, asked to whose memory it was dedicated, and on being told it was that of cardinal Richelieu, he ran to the statue and embracing it exclaimed, "Oh! that thou wert still living: I would give thee one half of my empire to govern the other!" Peter would undoubtedly have highly valued such a minister as Riche-

lieu: the bold projects and decisive measures of the French politician, would have been perfectly adapted to the genius and circumstances of the founder of the Russian greatness. From the era of Richelieu's administration we may date the aggrandizement of the French monarchy, as well as the despotism of its constitution. The refractory and independent nobles were brought under submission to the sovereign authority; and France began to take the lead in the affairs of Europe.

The commercial as well as political importance of France may, from this era, date, if not its origin, at least its great extension; and Richelieu's administration added greatly to the naval importance of that power. Being made superintendant general of the trade and navigation of the kingdom, he immediately resolved to keep, in constant pay, three squadrons of ships of war, one in the ocean, another in the Mediterranean, and a third always ready in the ports, to furnish convoys to merchantmen. In the year 1687, a French naval force, consisting of upwards of fifty ships of war, and twenty gallies, defeated the Spanish fleet, and captured five large ships and forty smaller vessels. On this occasion the celebrated motto,

"Florent lilia quoque ponto."*

was placed on the stern of the largest French ship of war. This was the first time that France acquired a superiority over Spain, on the ocean. After this victory, Richelieu proceeded so successfully in destroying the Spanish marine, that little remained of its formidable power. At his death, he left France possessed of one hundred ships of war, and gallies, with a competent stock of naval stores, in the royal arsenals. He had also wrested the province of Roussillon from Spain, and doubled the national revenue. In this reign Martinique and Guadaloupe began to be colonized. Commerce was extended, and France abounded with rich manufactures, which

* "The lilies flourish at sea as well as land."

furnished a variety of articles for exportation. Not only politics and commerce, but literature and the arts, were likewise objects of Richelieu's attention. To this minister the French academy owed its foundation; and the measures which he took for the refinement of the language, contributed in no small degree to render it of general use, in all the courts of Europe.

Louis XIV. ascended the throne of France, A. D. 1643. His minority, like that of his father, was agitated by intestine commotions. The kingdom was at once involved in foreign and domestic wars. But the queen mother, who had the direction of affairs, having chosen the cardinal Mazarine for her principal minister, that consummate stateman, who was Richelieu's pupil and follower, after many violent struggles, at length succeeded in establishing the public tranquillity. He found means to divide the domestic enemies of the court, so effectually among themselves, as to extinguish all opposition to his measures. By the address of this second Richelieu, Louis XIV. on assuming the reins of government found himself the most absolute monarch that had ever reigned over France.

The history of this reign is intimately connected with that of the rest of Europe; for such is the dependence of the members of the great European commonwealth on each other, that the folly or ambition of one monarch is frequently sufficient to involve the whole in hostilities. The foreign transactions of this period have therefore been principally related in treating of the affairs of England. We shall now confine ourselves chiefly, to a few concise remarks on the internal affairs of France, during this important period. Louis XIV. was almost continually engaged in wars either with England, Holland, or the house of Austria, and sometimes with all these powers combined. On the side of Germany, he was generally successful. He reduced Holland to the last extremity; and for a time disputed the sovereignty of the seas with England. His successes and his power were so great, that he became formidable to all Eu-

rope; and the exorbitant aggrandizement of France excited the same apprehensions as that of the house of Austria, had done in the preceding century. His grand project of placing the crown of Spain on the head of his grandson the duke of Anjou, gave rise to that famous confederacy, which rendered the latter part of his reign as disastrous, as the former had been prosperous and splendid. French historians of the reign of Louis XIV. have lavished on him the most extravagant eulogiums; and compared his exploits to those of the most celebrated heroes of antiquity. But he was never placed in a situation that could furnish to the world, a just criterion for judging of his personal abilities, either as a stateman or a warrior. All was performed by his ministers, and generals; and his judicious choice of these, is the best proof of his political sagacity. When the measures of his government are examined, we shall find some capital errors as well as masterly strokes of policy. Nothing could be more impolitic, as well as unjust, than his revocation of the edict of Nantes, and the expulsion of the protestants, a measure by which France sustained a loss, that more than counterbalanced all the advantages she derived from his victories. The separation of Spain from the house of Austria, and the establishment of a prince of the house of Bourbon on its throne, was certainly a grand design; giving rise to a family alliance instead of those opposite interests, and that inveterate animosity which had so long subsisted and produced so many expensive and bloody wars between the two kingdoms. In this reign, the kingdom of France acquired the greatest extent to which it ever attained before its late revolution. Its trade and marine were also by the successive efforts of Mazarine, and Colbert, especially by the latter, carried to the highest pitch. From the peace of Nimeguen, A. D. 1678, to the revocation of the edict of Nantes, A. D. 1685, France was in the meridian of her commercial, as well as political greatness. In the year 1683, the amount of the different branches of her revenue, was computed at ten millions five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Such were the great effects of the judicious plans, formed by Colbert. From that time the expulsion of the protestants, who carried their ingenuity into foreign countries, to the great detriment of the French manufactures; and the ambition of Louis, concurred to produce the decline of the commerce and opulence of the kingdom. Voltaire asserts, that the annual expenditure of Louis XIV. during his long reign, amounted one year with another to fourteen millions of pounds sterling.* Had he, instead of draining the country of men and money, to extend his conquests, confined his political views to the culture of the arts of peace, and the encouragement of manufactures, and trade, France would have been rendered more happy, more populous, and more opulent. Posterity, however, will not refuse to the memory of this prince, its tribute of respect for his patronage of science, and the arts. His reign was the Augustan age of France. His court and capital were the rendezvous of the learned, and the temples of genius. The royal palaces, especially that of Versailles, and the various embellishments which the city of Paris received during his reign, are monuments of his magnificence, and splendid specimens of the state of the arts at that period. And his liberality to men of genius, and learning, will reflect a lustre on his name, when his ambitious politics, and military enterprises shall be consigned to oblivion, or regarded with contempt. This monarch died A. D. 1715, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and the seventy-second of his reign, the longest recorded in history. In his last moments, he showed a greatness of mind worthy of his elevated station. Observing the tears of his attendants, he said " my friends why do you weep? Did you ever think me immortal?"

Louis XIV. was succeeded by his grandson Louis XV. who was yet in his non-age; and his minority was threatened with a repetition of the former evils. But the duke of Orleans, a man of talents, and spirit, seizing the regency, preserved

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 2. 561.

the tranquillity of the kingdom. After Louis assumed the government, the first part of his reign was tolerably pacific, until the connexion between France and Spain, induced the former to join with the latter, in the war against Great Britain, which was terminated A. D. 1748, by the peace of Aix la Chapelle. In 1757, the life of the French monarch was attempted by a frantic wretch named Damien, who stabbed him between the ribs, as he was entering his coach in the dusk of the evening. The incoherent declarations of the assassin afforded a strong presumption of the derangement of his intellects; and the tortures inflicted on him would have filled the hearts of savages with horror. After human ingenuity was exhausted in devising new torments, the unhappy maniac was torn to pieces by horses.

The foreign politics, and military transactions of this reign, being wholly included in our historical account of England, it is unnecessary to detail them here. Among the principal internal occurrences, may be reckoned the visionary and disastrous scheme of the Mississippi company, projected by Mr. Law of Edinburgh, for the purpose of consolidating the different public stocks. By this plan, Mr. Law promised to pay off the national debt, and to carry to the highest pitch the commerce and wealth of France. In order to draw in the numerous creditors of the crown, to be paid with the Mississippi stock, and royal bank notes, Mr. Law was, in the commencement of the year 1719, made director general of the bank, and in a few months created between forty and fifty millions sterling in new bank notes. To perfect the plan, he persuaded the regent to unite the East and West India Companies, with that of the Mississippi, which after this union assumed the name of the India Company. In the month of July, the capital of this new India Company rose considerably above par. A great part of the first stock is said to have been subscribed by government, and by Law on the Company's behalf. Through the madness of speculation, this stock sold out at about one thousand pounds per cent, which con-

sequently brought vast sums into the king's coffers, and enabled the Company also to extend its concerns. For the further promoting of the sale of subscriptions, the last fifty millions of pounds of India stock, was divided into small shares, which drew in the lowest of the people, to become adventurers; and the stocks immediately rose very considerably. The Company then undertook the general farm of the revenues, for which they obtained a grant for fifty years, and agreed to lend fifty millions of pounds sterling to the crown for the payment of the national debt. They also agreed to pay fifty millions of livres, for the exclusive privilege of the coinage of money, for nine years; and by an arret the public creditors were permitted to take shares of India stock, in payment of their several debts. Those glittering baits were too alluring not to be swallowed by the people of France. The public debt was soon discharged with the Company's paper. The plausible and splendid notions propagated by Law and his emissaries were readily believed; and the enthusiasm of speculation pervaded all ranks of society. In a few weeks more, the stocks ran up to one thousand two hundred pounds per cent, and one hundred and fifty millions of pounds were added to the Company's capital, by different subscriptions at one thousand pounds per cent. A false appearance of extraordinary wealth was now observed at Paris; and crowds of strangers from almost all the countries of Europe resorted thither to share in this fascinating trade, which was carried on with such enthusiastic ardour, that the stocks sometimes rose several hundred per cent, in one day. There were now in Paris, three hundred millions of livres of imaginary wealth, which bearing a price of one thousand two hundred pounds per cent, amounted to near eighteen million pounds sterling, a sum, says Mr. Anderson, which perhaps was near one hundred and eighty times as much as the circulating cash of all Europe. From the commencement of the month of November 1719, to the middle of December, the dazzling meteor was in its meridian, and it was computed that the number of

strangers resident in Paris was five hundred thousand more than usual! Above one thousand two hundred new coaches were set up; and scarcely any thing was to be seen, but new and splendid equipages, finery in apparel and every scene of luxurious dissipation. Lodgings could scarcely be procured for money, and provisions advanced to an exorbitant price. Amidst this public frenzy, the crown got rid of nearly seventy millions of pounds sterling of debts, without the payment of a single sous in money. By the madness of speculation among adventurers from foreign nations, as well as from all parts of the kingdom, the stocks rose above two thousand pounds per cent, but at last the scale began to turn, and their fall was as rapid as their rise. The immense amount of the capital could not fail of diminishing its value, and of overstocking the market, whenever the spirit of adventure should once begin, in however small a degree, to subside. On the first appearance of its decline, a royal ordinance was issued, prohibiting all ecclesiastical communities, hospitals, &c. from putting their money to interest, any where but in the India stocks. This and other extraordinary measures, however, only served to create a general alarm. By the direction of Law, a variety of pamphlets were published in order to assert the benefits, that must arise to the proprietors of this kind of stock. But on the 21st of May 1720, the fatal arret was issued by the king, purporting that as it had been deemed expedient to reduce the nominal value of the coin, it was likewise necessary to reduce the nominal value of bank-notes, and India stock. The former immediately lost their currency; the French crown, which before was worth thirty pence sterling in exchange at London, was depreciated to the value of three pence in bank paper;* and the India stock at last sunk below par. Every manœuvre that ingenuity could devise, was employed to keep it up, but all proved ineffectual; the illusion was now dissipated and the glittering prospects disappeared.

* And. Hist. Com. vol. 3. p. 117.

To preserve the tranquillity of the capital, it was thought necessary to publish an ordinance, strictly prohibiting all meetings or assemblies of people under any pretence whatever, and guards were stationed in all the public places to enforce its observance. Thus fell that airy but splendid vision which had so long dazzled the eyes of the people. Thousands of families were ruined, and multitudes of foreigners who had come from all parts of Europe, retired with ruined fortunes from that grand gaming table, which had promised them so rich a prize. This and the South Sea scheme of the year following are the most extraordinary money transactions to be met with in the history of the world. But, it is still more wonderful, that the phantom no sooner disappeared on the east side of the channel, than it made its appearance in England, and misled the people by the same kind of illusion which had ruined several thousands of families in France.

In this reign, the parliament of Paris exerted itself in the expulsion of the Jesuits; and having gained this victory over ecclesiastical tyranny, attempted to limit the power of the crown. The resolutions of this assembly excited new ideas in the public mind, and kindled the first sparks of that enthusiasm for liberty, which in the next reign overturned the whole fabric of monarchy. The next important event was the reduction of Corsica, of which Genoa claimed the sovereignty; but being unable to support her pretensions, had transferred them to France. Two bloody campaigns, in which the Corsicans under the conduct of their celebrated general, Paoli, carried on the war among the fastnesses of their mountains, with all the enthusiasm that animates the champions of freedom, at length compelled that brave people to yield to the superior discipline of the French. The commerce of France was, in this reign, exceedingly flourishing; both her East and West India trade had greatly increased; and her strides to universal commerce seemed as bold as those which she had formerly made towards universal dominion. She had almost engrossed the sugar trade; and in the year 1740 the quantity of French sugar annually ex-

an exemption from the tailles; and now, although willing to support the rights of the nation against the court, they were resolved to defend their own privileges against the people. They raised a loud clamour against the minister, De Calonne, who, unable to stem the torrent, resigned his office, and took shelter in England against the storm of persecution. It was soon found that the notables, in their present disposition, were incompetent to the reformation of the state. The ferment daily increased; and the public disorder required some prompt and efficacious remedy. Necker was recalled to the administration of the finances; but his ideas and measures were not adapted to the existing conjuncture. His object was a reform; the violent aimed at a revolution. In the midst of political storms, which were now ready to burst, Louis XVI. convoked the general assembly of the states at Versailles. The majority of the commons, and a minority of the nobles, voted that the representation of the third estate should be doubled. Louis Stanislaus Xavier, his majesty's brother, and M. Necker, took the same side of the question. This important decision has by some been considered as the sole cause of the revolution. The noblesse, however, attempted to render it illusory, by passing a decree that all propositions should be determined by orders, and not by individual votes. The public ferment was raised to the highest pitch by this proposition. The famous pamphlet, entitled "Qu'est ce que le Tiers Etat" appeared, by which L'Abbe Sieyes, its author, acquired unbounded popularity; and from this moment, war might be considered as declared by the people against the two superior orders.

The national assembly now began to take a different form. The minority of the noblesse, consisting of men who had adopted the new ideas of the modern philosophy, and several of whom had brought republican principles from America, with many of the inferior clergy, went over to the Tiers Etat. The measures of the court were impolitic, irresolute, and embarrassed; and although an army of 30,000 men under the com-

mand of marshal Broglio was assembled in the vicinity of the capital, no decisive measures were taken. In the mean time, the aspect of Paris became every day more formidable and menacing. The murmurs of its immense population were changed into violent declamations. The French guards, mixing with the people, had imbibed their spirit. The civil and military authorities were destitute of energy; and a crowd of vagabonds and desperadoes, attracted to the capital by the general fermentation, increased the terror of the moment. At this crisis, the administration, hesitating and irresolute, gave time to the spirit of sedition to operate, and at last, tardily declaring itself for the aristocracy, lost that popular favour, which had been the basis of its power. The dismissal of Necker, who was now become the idol of the nation, increased the ferment. His bust, with that of the duke of Orleans, was carried round Paris. The citizens flew to arms; the banditti that infested the streets were seized and imprisoned. A party of the people rushed to the hospital of the invalids, and seized the arms there deposited. From another quarter, an immense crowd marched to the Bastile, assaulted and carried that castle of despotism, killed the governor, and liberated the unfortunate victims who had endured the silence and solitude of the grave in its horrid dungeons. In an iron cage, of about twelve tons weight, was found the skeleton of a man, who had probably lingered out a great part of his days in this mansion of misery. Among the prisoners released from these gloomy recesses of oblivion, were major White, a native of Scotland; earl Massarene, an Irish nobleman, and the aged count de Lorges. The first, from being long unaccustomed to converse with mankind, had forgotten the use of speech; and his intellects were greatly impaired, through the miseries of his confinement. The count de Lorges was exhibited to the public in the Palais Royale; and his squalid appearance, his white beard, descending to his waist, with his imbecility, the effect of thirty-two years of close imprisonment, rendered him an object extremely well calculated to operate on the

mind and the passions of every spectator. Happy would it have been, had the French revolution ended with the extinction of so detestable an engine of despotism. After this explosion of popular fury, the city was divided into sections. The national guard was formed, of which the command was given to general La Fayette. During these events, the court remained undetermined, and the army inactive. The ministers, through habits of power, were become torpid; and Louis had too little of the tyrant, for the times in which he lived. By the revolutionists, he has been branded with that name; but had he been a tyrant, he might, perhaps, have reigned at this day. Had Louis XI. or Louis XIV. been in his place, the throne of France, most probably, would not have been overturned.

After so decided a victory, on the part of the people, and the organization of the national guard, the court, without plan, without money, and without credit, saw no resource but compliance with the wishes of the people. The principal courtiers, among whom were the king's brothers, and the prince of Condé, retired with precipitancy from France, and the king found himself without a court or a council, and almost entirely forsaken. Imperious necessity enforcing a compliance with the public wish, his majesty went to the assembly, and informed it of the recall of Necker, and the removal of the troops. On the 17th of July, 1789, three days after the memorable assault of the Bastile, Louis XVI. went to Paris, and received from the hands of the mayor, the national cockade. Joy, hope, and confidence, now seemed for a moment to revive in the nation. The constituent assembly was filled with men of the most distinguished abilities, and united all that could elevate the mind, and excite the enthusiasm of a nation eager for novelty. The discussions were learned, the speeches energetic and brilliant, and many of the laws enacted, judicious and beneficial. It annulled humiliating privileges; substituted the beneficent institution of juries for the former rigorous code of jurisprudence; emancipated the

mind, and established universal liberty of conscience. But while it encouraged the exertion of every talent, it opened an unbounded field to every species of ambition. Its political errors, however, were too remote to be felt; the good existed at the moment: the evil was reserved for the future. For some time, all France was carried along by the same general ardour; and the nobles themselves astonished the world, by the unexpected sacrifice of all the rights and privileges that separated them from the people.

At this period, it might have been expected that tranquillity was re-established, and mutual confidence restored. The constituent assembly seemed to aim at nothing more than to establish a limited monarchical government, and did all that could be expected. They decreed that the legislative power should reside in a council, composed of deputies elected by the nation; that the crown should be hereditary; the monarch invested with the executive power, and his person held inviolable.

On the 14th of July, 1790, was celebrated with extraordinary solemnity, the feast of the grand confederation. This august spectacle was exhibited in the Champ de Mars, where an altar was erected for the purpose of administering the civic oath; and round it was thrown up an immense amphitheatre, of a league in circumference, and capable of containing four hundred thousand spectators. The king's throne was placed under an elegant pavillion in the middle, and on each side were seats for the members of the national assembly. The king, the representatives of the nation, the soldiery, and all that were in ostensible situations, solemnly renewed their oaths of fidelity to the new constitution. This was the last happy day of the revolutionary period. The factions were forming, and the volcano that was to overwhelm every thing hitherto held sacred, was ripening for explosion. A power was elevating itself, which was shortly to trample under foot all laws, human and divine, and to convert France into a theatre of slaughter and misery. This fatal institution

was the jacobin club, which soon became a rallying point for all men of desperate fortunes, and profligate principles; and was every day reinforced by the enemies of all legal order, whose aim was to institute a war of the poor against the rich, and to overturn the whole fabric of society, in hopes of rising to wealth and power on its ruins. This desperate body, overawing all other assemblies, misled the multitude, and every where excited the spirit of political and civil inquisition. Like a desolating torrent, breaking down all restrictive mounds, it deluged France with blood and crimes. The constituent assembly, hurried on by its impulse, proceeded to destroy all ancient institutions, ecclesiastical and civil. Parliaments, universities, and religious orders were suppressed; the revenues of the church were seized, and a civil constitution drawn up for the clergy. All men of rank and property saw their lives in danger from the approaches of a furious populace. Numbers of the nobility and clergy made their escape to foreign countries; and the king, terrified at the storms that were gathering around him, attempted a precipitate, but ill projected flight to the frontiers, where M. de Bouille, with some troops, waited his arrival. Departing from Paris in the night, he was recognized by a post-master, and stopped at Varennes, from whence he was re-conducted to Paris, amidst the insults of the populace. This occurrence, notwithstanding the clamours of the jacobins, was, through the calm intrepidity of La Fayette, and the firmness of the constituent assembly, productive of less disorder than might have been expected. At that epoch, the republican party first began to appear; but its first efforts were so weak as to afford no indication of its future triumph. The constitution was revised by the assembly, and was accepted by the king. Soon after this, the second national council assembled, with abilities far inferior to those of the first. About this period, M. Necker, finding all his exertions useless, amidst the clashing interests of parties, and the turbulence of faction, resigned his functions and retired from France.

The emigrant princes, noblemen, and military officers, who had for some time been assembled at Coblentz, and other places, and soliciting the assistance of the continental powers, now began to assume a formidable appearance, and their threats were industriously circulated. The pope thundered out bulls which in France only excited contempt; the aspect of Prussia and Austria became every day more hostile, and every thing indicated a dreadful explosion. In France, the jacobins were uniformly successful. Violent harangues were delivered from the tribune; and abusive pamphlets against kings issued from all the presses. All minds were infatuated, and all the violent passions of our nature excited. The legislative body adopted the violent mode of proscription by classes; a decree was issued against all priests, who had not adopted the civil constitution of the clergy; and another against emigrants without any distinction of age, sex, or motive of absence; declaring their effects confiscated, and adjudging them indiscriminately to death, if they should ever return to France. The jacobins filled every situation of power, and Dumouriez was placed at the head of the new administration. Louis was, not without reason, averse to a war; but as he knew that his opposition to such a measure would be considered as a collusion with foreign powers, he went to the National Assembly by the advice of his ministers, and in the midst of loud acclamations, proposed a declaration of war against the king of Hungary and Bohemia. Things were now approaching to a crisis equally dreadful and unexpected. The king of Prussia flattered himself with the romantic glory of breaking the chains of the French monarch, and restoring him to his power. Austria considered this as a favourable opportunity of regaining possession of those territories, which Louis XIV. had wrested out of her hands; and the emigrants expected a restoration to their country and property. The other European governments although justly irritated at the disorganizing system of the jacobins, and their zeal for its propagation, did not foresee the energies that enthusiasm

would inspire. Though they apprehended the contagion of French principles, the arms of France were not deemed formidable. Crippled in her finances, and rent by factions, France appeared incapable of carrying on a vigorous war; and her troops without officers, without discipline, and without subordination, were considered incapable of withstanding the warlike legions of Prussia and Austria; but all these calculations were erroneous. The duke of Brunswic, generalissimo of the combined Austrian and Prussian army, published a manifesto, in which he seemed to regard France already as a conquered country, and threatened Paris with military execution and total desolation. The effects which it produced were a general indignation, an universal armament, and unfortunately, a distrust of the court which nothing could remove. Hostilities now seriously commenced; but although the French appeared unanimous in running to arms, a fatal disposition to discord paralized their first efforts. The popular frenzy was by the jacobin clubs raised to its height, and all the measures of the court were suspected. The clubs, the public places, and the sections, echoed with inflammatory declarations, and violent denunciations against the monarch and his family, and a republican government was loudly demanded.

The nobles, merchants, and other men of property, were designated as eternal enemies of the people. Furious bands of desperadoes came in crowds to Paris, and by their seditious harangues, and energetic songs, inflamed the multitude. The Swiss guards were declared the satellites of tyranny, and the people insisted on their dismissal. France was divided between four principal factions, the royalists, who wished to see the ancient government re-established; the constitutional monarchists; the republicans; and the anarchists, or furious jacobins, who aimed at the subversion of all social order, and the pillage of all property. The king, the officers of the household, the courtiers, the constitutionalists, and the terrified aristocrats, adopted measures which proved ineffec-

tual for their defence, while the approach of the Prussian army to the frontiers of the kingdom, increased the general fermentation.

The mysterious and melancholy 10th of August 1792, is still fresh in the memory of every one, although the circumstances from which it originated have never been satisfactorily developed. The consequences however are fatally notorious. The royalists by their imprudent zeal in crowding round the king, excited suspicions, and the jacobins took advantage of this circumstance to rouse the populace to arms. The heads of the republican party, Danton, Robespierre, Marat, Collot, d'Herbois, Barbaroux, Fabre d'Eglantine, and Chabot, had formed a plan for annihilating the monarchy at one single stroke. They could not depend on more than seven or eight hundred intrepid Marseillois, and a disorderly banditti of vagabonds, yet with these they succeeded in subverting the monarchy. In the dead of night, a band of violent jacobins calling themselves deputies of the sections of Paris, flew to the commune, deposed the municipality, and assassinated Maudat, commandant of the national guard. The tocsin was sounded, and the Marseillois advanced towards the Thuilleries. The guard of the palace was under arms, and the administration of the department had given them orders to repel force by force. Had Louis XVI. now drawn the sword, he must either have conquered or have gloriously fallen. The queen exhorted him to defend by arms his person, his family, and his crown; but the king instead of adopting this resolute measure, sought an asylum in the bosom of the legislative assembly, and at once extinguished the hopes of his friends and the fears of his enemies. The palace of the Thuilleries was forced, the galleries, the apartments, the passages, and courts, soon streamed with blood: the Swiss were massacred, and the royalists killed or dispersed. From this moment the power of the legislative assembly was annihilated; the cannon of the Parisians dictated its decrees. The king was suspended from his functions, and with his family

sent prisoner to the temple; the representatives of the nation, overawed by the jacobin clubs, violated the constitution, and imprisoned the monarch, whom it had declared inviolable. Nothing was omitted that could inspire the soldiery and the people with hatred for the captive king, and the constitutional generals; the poor were promised the property of the rich, and subalterns the places of their superiors. La Fayette was determined to support the constitution, but was soon abandoned by his army; and an accusation being preferred against him he resolved to escape the scaffold by quitting his country in company with Bureau de Pusy, Latour Maubourg, and Alexander Lameth. These illustrious fugitives were arrested, confined, and subjected to grievous sufferings by the Austrians. Nothing could be more impolitic than their treatment. It taught the constitutionalists who wished to save the throne, to expect the same treatment as the jacobins who overturned it, and united all France in one common cause. The generals who had hesitated, now adhered to the decrees of the convention; the soldiers resolved to conquer or die; and the citizens running to arms, soon filled up the numerous battalions.

To the harsh treatment of La Fayette and his companions, in conjunction with the threats of the Prussian manifesto, may in a great measure be attributed the catastrophe of the royal family; the union of the factions against foreign force, and the desperate enthusiasm that pervaded the people and armies of France. The approach of the Prussian army gave rise to fresh scenes of horror at Paris. Ever since the tragical 10th of August, the barriers had been shut, and the prisons filled with nobles, ecclesiastics, and opulent citizens. The outrageous orators among the jacobins represented these unfortunate people as conspirators, whose design was to murder the families of the patriots, as soon as the enemy advancing to the capital should oblige its citizens to take the field; and they insisted on the necessity of extirpating this crowd of domestic enemies. These dreadful suggestions and in-

flammatory speeches infused a blind rage into the minds of the people. The tocsin was sounded, and ferocious assassins proceeding to the prisons, forced them open, and in the name of the people murdered the unhappy prisoners without distinction of age, sex, or circumstances. The sanguinary massacre continued three days, and Paris flowed with blood, while no constitutional authority existed that could put a stop to these horrible outrages. This was the beginning of the reign of terror.

The Prussian columns in the mean while advanced, and captured Verdun and Longwy, but here was the limit of their progress. Dumouriez, Kellerman, Luckner, and Bournonville, opposed them with a formidable force. The plan of the French generals was to harass the enemy, to impede his progress by continual skirmishes, and prevent his retreat, if that step should be resorted to. At Paris an entrenched camp was formed, and one hundred and twenty thousand men had taken arms. From all the departments numerous battalions of volunteers arrived, of whom a part formed an army behind the Prussians, while the rest joined Dumouriez. That general, who began the campaign with seventeen thousand men, ended it with one hundred thousand; while the Austro-Prussian army which consisted of eighty thousand men when it entered France had by sickness and famine lost above twenty-five thousand before it had proceeded to Longwy; and this blustering army astonished all Europe by its precipitate retreat without fighting one battle with the forces of France.

On the 24th September, royalty was abolished by a decree of the Convention, and France declared a republic amidst the loudest acclamations. The progress of her arms now became exceedingly rapid. At the moment when Paris was threatened, the conquest of Savoy was projected, and in a short time accomplished. Custine advanced into Germany, and made himself master of Spire, Mentz, and Francfort; while Dumouriez entering the Netherlands with forty thou-

sand men, and a formidable train of artillery, after several skirmishes gained a decisive victory over the Austrians at Jemappe. In this engagement the military skill of the general, and the valour of his troops were equally conspicuous. Every point of the enemy's lines was attacked at once; every corps of the French army was in action. The cannonade began at seven in the morning; at noon the French infantry forming into columns rushed on the enemy, with fixed bayonets; and at two the Austrians were completely defeated. This battle decided the fate of the Austrian Netherlands, every town of which, except Luxembourg, opened its gates to the conqueror. To conciliate the Belgians, the opening of the navigation of the Scheldt, shut up by the treaty of Munster, was ordered.

The trial of the king which commenced on the 11th of December, and its tragical issue, excited the general sympathy of Europe. The voice of humanity deplored the fate of a prince, who, after having adopted such lenient measures in the different stages of the revolution, showed a firmness on the scaffold, which afforded a strong presumption that could he have taken away the lives of his subjects with the same indifference with which he resigned his own, he might have avoided his destiny. The memorable decree of the 19th November 1792, issued by the convention, by offering fraternity and assistance to the revolutionists of every country, was equivalent to a declaration of war against all nations, and attracted the attention of the other European powers. They were irritated at the arrogance of the republican convention, and perceiving the dangers with which they were threatened, formed a confederacy more extensive and powerful than any other recorded in history. England, Holland, Prussia, Austria, the princes of Germany, and Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Russia, united against the republic, and France seemed destined to experience the fate of Troy. Without money, and without credit; suffering in the interior from sanguinary anarchy, and menaced from abroad by the combined

forces of Europe, the French nation seemed incapable of extricating itself from so terrible a crisis. But enthusiasm which in every age has formed either martyrs or heroes, supported the republic against all the efforts of its enemies, in spite of the folly and ferocity of its rulers. The splendor of the successes of Dumouriez was as short as it was brilliant, and the suddenness of his fall was equal to the rapidity of his elevation.

The prince of Saxe Cobourg defeated the French under general Valence and possessed himself of Liege; general Miranda was compelled to raise the siege of Maestricht, and Dumouriez who had already entered Holland, was obliged to make a precipitate retreat into Brabant, where he fought and lost the battle of Nerwinden. He afterwards repulsed the Austrians in a bloody action near Louvain, but was at last obliged to abandon all his conquests, and retreat into France. From this moment, foreseeing the fate which the suspicious republicans were preparing for a vanquished general, he determined to march with his army to Paris, and re-establish a monarchical government. The event completely disappointed his hopes. Four deputies from the convention, with Bournonville, the secretary of the war department, arrived at the camp to secure the attachment of the troops and the person of the general; on which Dumouriez relying on his influence over the army, openly erected the standard of revolt, and ordering the minister and the four deputies, to be arrested, delivered them up to the Austrians as hostages for the safety of the persons of the royal family, yet imprisoned at Paris. He then developed his project to the army, and in a brilliant and energetic speech, exhorted his troops to acquire immortal glory by the re-establishment of monarchy, and the constitution of 1791, expecting their ready acquiescence. His soldiers, who, hitherto ignorant of his views, had retained for him an enthusiastic regard, now indignant at his defection, universally expressed a murmur of dissatisfaction, which dissipated the illusion. A precipitate flight being now

his only resource, he galloped off with about seven or eight hundred men who attached themselves to his fortune.

The allies were now generally successful. It would be tedious to repeat the details of these events; we shall therefore trace only the general outlines of the pictures. General Dampierre having rallied the scattered forces, disordered, and dismayed by the defection of Dumouriez, after several bloody engagements fell bravely fighting in the battle of Famars. Condé surrendered to the Austrians, and Valenciennes to the duke of York, after having for the space of seven weeks sustained a vigorous siege. The English general then laid siege to Dunkirk, and the prince of Saxe Cobourg to Maubeuge: but both these attempts miscarried. A naval armament from England, which was to have co-operated in the siege of Dunkirk, could not sail so soon as was expected; and a French army of superior force approaching, the allies, after several severe actions, were obliged to raise the siege, and to leave behind their train of artillery. General Houchard was afterwards impeached in the Convention and guillotined on a charge of not having improved his success to the best advantage.

The year 1793 was a terrible crisis for France. Besides the loss of Condé and Valenciennes; Puisage and Wimpfen with an army of malecontents were within twenty leagues of Paris. The king of Prussia had driven the French from Francfort, and retaken Mentz. An Austro-Prussian army, combined with the prince of Condé, had forced the lines of Weissemburg, where the republicans lost fifteen thousand men. Landau was blockaded, and Toulon had voluntarily surrendered to the English, and Spaniards. Most of the southern provinces were in a state of rebellion, against the convention; and the large and populous city of Lyons presented a formidable focus of insurrection, while four hundred thousand of the best disciplined troops in Europe were attempting to conquer the republic. At this period of doubt and danger, the revolutionary government displayed an energy

that triumphed over all obstacles—carried dismay to the extremities of Europe—and presented a political picture that will excite the astonishment of posterity. This terrific government, annihilating all opposition, and restrained by no principles of humanity, had the absolute power of disposing at pleasure of the property, the labour, and the blood of twenty-four millions of people.

By the expedient of assignats, and a decree to enforce their circulation, an immense paper currency was created. Innumerable confiscations and requisitions increased the public resources. A million of soldiers were levied; and terror inspired the generals with a desperate courage. Those that were unfortunate were immediately denounced to the revolutionary tribunal, which indiscriminately condemned all the victims marked out for destruction. Among these was the brave Custine, whose successes had been so important and brilliant. He was accused of having maintained an improper correspondence with the enemy, and of having neglected various opportunities of throwing succors into Valenciennes. In that calamitous period, and before that atrocious tribunal, impeachment was equivalent to proof. Custine, one of the bravest defenders of the nation, was condemned to the guillotine, and died with that tranquillity of mind which conscious rectitude inspires.

The trial and condemnation of the queen immediately followed. She heard the sanguinary sentence with heroic intrepidity, and met her fate with dignity and composure in the thirty-eighth year of her age. Brissot and his party were the next victims, being condemned on vague accusations of a conspiracy against the unity and indivisibility of the republic. Valaze on hearing his sentence stabbed himself at the bar of the tribunal. Brissot, and his other companions, to the number of twenty-one, suffered death by the guillotine, manifesting in their last moments the most heroic unconcern. The weak and wavering, but profligate duke of Orleans, accused of aspiring to the sovereignty, was likewise

cious aspect; women disgusting and lost to all shame; nothing was heard but brutal speeches, and atrocious blasphemy. In every commune, in every section, were established clubs and revolutionary committees, consisting of banditti immersed in crimes; they had not the right to save any one; but their power to denounce, imprison, plunder, and send innocence to the scaffold, was unlimited. The dregs of the people were paid to assist at assemblies, in order to encourage guilt, to terrify moderation, and to applaud executions. No one could awake in safety, nor sleep without dread. The slightest noise at the door of a house spread alarm in families. They always thought they saw the arrival of robbers and jailors. Men the most violent in favour of the revolution, were not secured by the pledges, frequently criminal, which they had given: all were equally exposed to the suspicious fury of the new Syllas of France. The same scaffold exhibited a scene in which were sacrificed the zealous royalist, the intrepid constitutionalist, the fanatical priest, the sanguinary jacobin, the opulent financier, the obscure artificer, the celebrated philosopher, the shameless prostitute, the innocent virgin, and the ferocious anarchist. This government in its delirium resembled those cruel scourges, those fatal epidemical distempers, which rapidly depopulate a vast region by mowing down indiscriminately all ranks, all sexes, and all ages.*

It was impossible that so horrid a state of things could long exist. The members of the convention having reached the last stage of tyranny, at length exterminated one another; and successively fell on the same scaffolds, on which thousands of innocent victims had been immolated. Robespierre, in the first place, dreading the ferocious courage of Danton, Fabre d'Eglantine, and Chabot, three of the most finished desperadoes of the convention, caused them to be arrested with several of their adherents, and without confronting them with any witnesses, hurried them away to the scaffold. After

* Segur. Hist. Fred. William. vol. 3. ch. 11.

these executions he became all powerful, and the government of France although nominally republican, was almost entirely vested in the person of that usurper. Supported by a numerous and atrocious banditti, he set no bounds to his cruelty. Under his sanguinary administration, the prisons of Paris contained at one time above seven thousand persons. Every day witnessed the immolation of seventy or eighty victims, and the dungeons of the capital were filled and emptied with the most horrible rapidity. In the departments, Le Bon, Carriere, and others, exercised the same cruelties; and France, covered with bastiles and with scaffolds, was deluged with tears and blood. The beauty and innocence of madame Elizabeth, sister of the late unfortunate monarch, could not protect her against the cruelty of this sanguinary monster. She was condemned on the most frivolous pretexts, and perished by the revolutionary axe, without even the appearance of guilt: her royal blood was her only crime. This amiable princess was guillotined the last of twenty-six persons led the same day to the scaffold.

The infamous Robespierre now seemed to aim at the total extermination of all persons of property, and the destruction of all the existing authorities, in order to reign over a murderous banditti. But his career was drawing towards its termination. He began to conspire the destruction of his colleagues, who were not ignorant of his designs and of their own danger. Barras, Freron, Rovere, Le Gendre, Bourdon, Merlin de Thionville, Tallien, and Lecointre, resolved to prevent their own destruction, by the death of the tyrant. Robespierre being informed of the conspiracy, and relying on a majority of the jacobins, and on the assistance of the communes of Paris, as well as on the succours of Henriot, commandant of the national guard, thought himself able to attack with impunity the other members; to obtain a decree of impeachment against them; and to establish his own absolute power. Ascending the tribune, he pronounced a violent harangue on the situation of the republic. The proposition of

ordering it to be printed was boldly opposed by Bourdon, Vadier, and Cambon, who accused him of misrepresentation and falsehood. The tyrant seeing his influence in the senate on the point of being overthrown, repaired to the jacobins and inflamed their minds by a representation of their common danger. The next day, Billaud de Varennes accused Robespierre, St. Just, Couthon, Henriot, and La Valette, of tyranny, and of a wish to massacre the convention. A general cry of "down with the tyrant," prevented his answer from being heard. Tallien then moved his arrest, and drawing a dagger swore he would plunge it into the heart of the tyrant, if the convention had not the courage to break their chains. The assembly then ordered him and his accomplices to be arrested; but when he was led to prison, the administrator of the police refused to receive him; and a determined band of jacobins dispersing the guards, carried him in triumph to the hotel de Ville. Henriot had been arrested at the same time, at the committee of public safety, and liberated by a body of eight hundred armed banditti. The tyrants were now masters of the hotel de Ville, at the head of the commune of Paris, surrounded by a numerous populace who appeared ready for their defence. Had they immediately marched to attack the hall of the convention, which was unguarded, they might have sacrificed their accusers, and established their own empire. Happily, however, from their confusion or cowardice the opportunity was neglected, and the convention immediately adopted the most vigorous measures. Barras and some of his colleagues were entrusted with the command of the capital. The citizens being summoned to the defence of liberty, and the extinction of tyranny, flew to arms; and the deputies having assembled some of the sections, proceeded to the hotel de Ville, where they read the decree of the convention to the surrounding multitude, and without opposition seized all the conspirators. Robespierre seeing himself deserted by the populace, on whose support he relied, and convinced that all was lost, shot himself in the mouth with a

pistol. The ball carried away part of his jaw, but did not terminate his existence. During the space of twenty-four hours he saw the universal joy which his downfall excited. He was compelled to appear before that revolutionary tribunal, which he had so long made the instrument of his tyranny, and being condemned by the accomplices of his crimes, was, together with the younger Robespierre, his brother, Couthon, St. Just, Lebas, Henriot, and others, in all twenty-one in number, conducted on the 28th of July, 1794 to the scaffold, amidst the loud bursts of public execration. The name of Robespierre will long stand conspicuous in the annals of infamy, as that of a monster, who in cruelty surpassed all other tyrants, whether of modern or ancient times. The reign of terror was now speedily terminated. Legendre, the intrepid enemy of that tyranny to which he had nearly fallen a victim, went with a band of determined followers to the jacobin club; dislodged them, and shut up their hall of assembly. The iniquitous judges and juries of the revolutionary tribunal, the proconsul Lebon, and the infamous Carriere, the depopulator of La Vendee, were successively brought to the scaffold. The revolutionary committees were dissolved and pursued by the public vengeance.

Notwithstanding the internal convulsions which France suffered during this period, her external efforts were prodigious, and generally successful. In this year 1794, Europe sent forth the most numerous and formidable armies, that the modern world had ever seen collected. The republic had on foot six armies containing seven hundred and eighty thousand men; and the seven armies of the coalition amounted to not less than three hundred and fifty-six thousand. Carnot, the minister of the war department, had already produced a great revolution in tactics. Soaring above the ordinary system of circumscribed manœuvres, he formed extensive plans of operation, and combined the movements of different armies in an immense space, like the evolutions of a few regiments on a narrow plain. Jourdan, Pichegru, Moreau, Kleber, and se-

veral other generals, whose names this war has immortalized, executed with skill the designs that were planned by his genius. Taking advantage of the superiority of their numbers, they conducted the operations of the war in a manner contrary to all former practice; and without regarding the strong places left in their rear, disconcerted by their bold movements the methodical system of their enemies. The prince of Saxe Cobourg was totally defeated by general Jourdan at Fleurus. Fearing lest he should be turned by another army of seventy thousand men under Pichegru, and threatened by a third army which had compelled the Austrians, under Beaulieu, to evacuate Namur, he attempted to make a stand in the forest of Soignies, but was driven out with the loss of seven thousand men, and obliged to retire towards Maestricht. The English, pressed by the superior numbers of Pichegru's forces, retreated towards Breda. The emperor returned to Vienna, and ordered his armies to retire into Germany. During the remainder of the campaign the republicans subdued the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, with Maestricht, Nimeguen and Aix la Chapelle; defeated Clairfayt near Juliers, and took possession of Cologne and Bon. In other quarters the French were also victorious. In Italy they made themselves masters of Oneglia. On the side of the Pyrennees they were equally successful, and defeated the Spaniards at St. Jean de Luz, Fizuere, and Iran. In this year the revolutionary government, under the direction of Robespierre and his faction, signalized its atrocity by a decree ordering all the English who should be taken prisoners to be immediately put to the sword. To the credit of the French commanders, this sanguinary decree was not obeyed by any of the armies.

The campaign of 1794 closed with the most signal successes on the part of the republic; and that of the following year completely changed the destinies of Europe. The frost having set in with unusual rigor, a strong column of French passed the Maese, and attacked the allies; who being defeated

at every point, retreated before them. Clairfayt was repulsed and driven into Germany, and the French then advanced into Holland. Utrecht, Rotterdam, and Dort successively surrendered to their arms. The Stadtholder and his family retired into England, and Pichegru entered Amsterdam in triumph. In a few weeks the whole of the United Provinces submitted, and the government was newly modelled, nearly on the French plan. In Spain the republicans were equally successful. They took Fontarabia, and made themselves masters of the greatest part of the provinces of Biscay and Catalonia. The king of Prussia seeing no prospect of advantage from a continuance of the war, entered into a negociation, and concluded a treaty of peace with the republic on the 20th April 1795. On the 22d of July following, peace also took place between France and Spain. In two campaigns, the French republic had gained twenty-nine pitched battles, taken one hundred and fifty-two cities and towns, three thousand eight hundred pieces of cannon, ninety standards, and seventy thousand muskets; killed eighty thousand men, made ninety thousand prisoners, and detached from the coalition two of its principal members. So tremendous a scene of exertion, and so unexpected a tide of success baffled all calculation, and astonished the veteran politicians of Europe.

The republic was unfortunate by sea, while successful by land. England annihilated its naval force; seized several of its colonies, as well as the island of Corsica; and reigned triumphant on the ocean. Its internal situation, likewise, was far from exhibiting a scene of tranquillity. The jacobins and anarchists, although they had lost their most eminent leaders, were yet numerous and powerful, and made several efforts to revive the system of terror. It was not till long after this period, and after the defeat of repeated conspiracies, that internal order was completely established. On the 9th of June, the Dauphin, son of the unfortunate Louis XVI. died in the prison of the temple. It does not appear that medical

aid was either denied or neglected, but it is highly probable that long confinement accelerated his death.

In the course of this year an expedition was fitted out for the French coast by the English government. It was composed chiefly of French emigrants who were landed in the bay of Quiberon. After taking possession of a fort, they were surprised by general Hoche, who killed or captured the greater part. The emigrant officers, clergy, &c. among whom were the count de Sombrieul and the bishop of Dol, were condemned to death by a military tribunal.

In the following campaign, 1796, general Bonaparte first began to attract the notice of Europe. Being appointed to the command of the army of Italy, the rapidity of his movements and the brilliancy of his success, excited astonishment. Five battles in little more than a month, led to a peace with Sardinia, by which Savoy and Nice were ceded to France. Bonaparte pursued his success; defeated the Austrian general Beaulieu at the bridge of Lodi; entered the Milanese, and gained possession of the whole of Lombardy. Wurmser, one of the ablest of the imperial commanders, arrived from Germany with a numerous and well appointed army, and Italy became the theatre of a bloody contest. The Austrians were at first victorious. They repulsed the French, and obliged them to raise the siege of Mantua. Bonaparte, after a series of bloody and well-contested actions, at last drove Wurmser with the remains of his shattered army into Mantua, where he was closely besieged by the victor. The Austrians under general Alvinzy made a bold, but ineffectual effort to relieve the gallant Wurmser, and his besieged army. A bloody battle took place at Arcole, where the victory was decisive on the side of the French, and Mantua was at last obliged to surrender. Nothing could now arrest the progress of the republican arms. The French advanced into the papal territories, took possession of Rome, and compelled the Pope, the king of Naples, and the other Italian princes to submit to such terms as the victors thought fit to

impose. The northern part of Italy was formed into a distinct state, called the Cisalpine Republic. The French took possession also of Venice; a tumult having happened in that city, in which some French soldiers left in the hospitals had been murdered. This circumstance furnished them with a pretext for making so noble an addition to their conquests. After the capture of Mantua, the victorious Bonaparte penetrated through the Tyrol, and after several hard fought actions with the archduke Charles, advanced so near to Vienna, that the emperor found it necessary to enter into a negociation. A truce was agreed to, and in October 1797 a peace was concluded at Campo Formio, between the emperor and the French republic.

During these transactions, a strong opposition arose in the council of five hundred against the directorial government, which led to a division in the directory itself, two of its members, Carnot, and Barthelemy, taking part with the council against the three others. The conduct of the directory was severely censured; and among a variety of other reforms a retrenchment of expenses in civil and military offices was proposed. The army was in the interest of Barras, and the two other directors of his party, who, encouraged by this support, ordered the alarm guns to be fired, and the hall of the council to be surrounded with a military force. General Augereau entered the hall of the council of five hundred, seized Pichegru the president with his own hands, and ordering eighteen other members to be arrested, committed them to the temple. Carnot and Barthelemy and some others found means to escape. The power of Barras and his party being now rendered complete, they projected new schemes of conquest in order to give the armies employment, and opportunity of plunder. A French general having been killed in a tumult at Rome, the occasion was seized on to renew the war; the pope was deposed, and carried prisoner into France; and a Roman republic was erected. Switzerland was also invaded, and its government newly modelled.

In the beginning of the next year, 1798, a peace on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio, was concluded between the republic and the states of the German empire.

Hostilities being thus terminated on the continent, the numerous troops of France became a burthen not easy to support. An immediate invasion of Great Britain was therefore announced, and an army collected on the coast apparently for that purpose. The directory, however, being convinced of the impracticability of this enterprise, changed the project of the invasion of England for an expedition against Egypt, a country which promised a less splendid, but a more certain conquest. In the month of May 1798, Bonaparte sailed from Toulon with an army consisting of about forty thousand men, chiefly veterans of the Italian army. His usual good fortune attended him on this occasion. Being arrived at Malta, he demanded permission to water his fleet, and on the grand master's refusal, landed a part of his forces, and seized on the island; which, with all its dependencies, was surrendered to the French republic. After this conquest, leaving in Malta a garrison of four thousand men, he proceeded for Egypt, and having escaped the vigilance of the British fleet under admiral Nelson, arrived on the coast about the 1st of July, and landed his troops. Alexandria was taken by assault on the night of the 5th of July, with the loss of between two and three hundred men. Cairo, defended by Morad Bey with a considerable body of Mamalukes, was attacked and carried on the 23d; and the decisive battle of the Pyramids, fought on the 26th, nearly completed the conquest of Egypt. The fatal blow which the French received by the destruction of their fleet in the bay of Aboukir, has already been mentioned. Their land forces, however, remained in possession of the country. Bonaparte, to secure and extend his conquests, advanced into Syria; but the English squadron under sir Sidney Smith, having intercepted the flotilla, which was bringing his battering artillery and ammunition from Egypt, he received a decisive check at Acre. Sir Sidney Smith acting in concert with the Turks,

the French were completely repulsed in every assault, and obliged to return into Egypt.

This attack on the Turkish dominions, in direct violation of the rights of neutrality, compelled the Ottoman Porte to declare war against the French republic. Russia also entered into an alliance with the Porte, and with England. Austria seemed willing to avail herself of the advantage, which this confederacy afforded. The directory, aware of the intention of the court of Vienna, ordered general Jourdan to cross the Rhine, in order to force the diet of Ratisbon to declare against the entrance of the Russian troops into Germany. The imperial cabinet, however, being now assured of a powerful co-operation, resolved not to lose the advantage of so favourable a juncture; and a new confederacy was formed consisting of Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Sardinia, and Naples. The war was now renewed, and for some time the French were successful. Their armies occupied the whole of Italy. The king of Sardinia was reduced to the necessity of renouncing the sovereignty of Piedmont, and retiring to the island from which he derived his title. And the Neapolitan monarch who had obtained possession of Rome, was repulsed; and at last expelled from the continent, and obliged to retreat into Sicily. But the republicans soon met with terrible reverses. On the 25th of March, general Jourdan was defeated by the Austrians near Stockach, and about the same time another French army received two successive defeats near Verona. About the middle of April, the Russian army under marshal Suwarrow arrived. The campaign was now a series of rapid successes on the side of the allies. These, however, were not obtained but by a number of hard fought battles. In spite of the efforts of Moreau, Macdonald, Joubert, and others of their generals, the French were entirely expelled from Italy.

Suwarrow now advanced into Switzerland in order to drive out the enemy, and with the view of entering France from that quarter. On this occasion, general Massena dis-

played the greatness of his military talents. Knowing that the junction of Suwarrow's army with that already acting against him, would create a superiority of force, by which he must be overpowered, he determined immediately to attack the latter, and in four different engagements between the 14th and the 20th of September, repeatedly defeated and almost exterminated the Austrian and Russian armies in that quarter. By these decisive and successful efforts, Massena completely disconcerted the plans of the Russian general, who on his arrival in Switzerland found himself under the necessity of retiring into Germany. His retreat over mountains covered with snow, and through roads almost impassable, was not effected without great difficulty and considerable loss.

The year 1799 constitutes a new era in the history of France, and in that of Europe. A total alteration of the constitution and government of the republic took place. The project is attributed to the Abbé Sieyes; and the enterprising spirit and popularity of general Bonaparte, rendered him a fit person to carry it into execution. That successful chief, equally distinguished by his abilities and good fortune, escaping the danger of the seas, and the vigilance of the English, returned from Egypt and suddenly made his appearance in France. As the first step to that elevation which was to render him the arbiter of the continent, the council of ancients appointed him commandant of all the troops in Paris and its vicinity, including the national guards, and the guards of the councils. They then decreed the removal of the legislative body from Paris to St. Cloud. On its meeting at that place, the sitting was very tumultuous. The director Barras gave in his resignation, and the assembly proceeded to deliberate on the choice of his successor. General Bonaparte entering the room attended by some officers and grenadiers, advanced towards the chair of the president: on which a violent agitation took place among the members. Some rising precipitately from their seats, rushed forward to

seize him, and one attempted to stab him, but the blow was warded off. An officer then entering with a body of soldiers, exclaimed "general Bonaparte orders the hall to be cleared." The order was immediately carried into effect, and the sitting being resumed in the evening, a decree was passed abolishing the directorial government, and vesting the executive power in a consular triumvirate, composed of general Bonaparte, L'Abbé Sieyes, and Roger Ducas. A new constitution was soon afterwards framed, which vested the executive power almost exclusively in the hands of general Bonaparte, with the title of first consul of France.

The recent losses which the republic had sustained, and the dangers with which it was threatened, had greatly weakened the authority of the directory, and prepared the way for this revolution. It was no sooner accomplished, than affairs began to take a different turn. On Suwarrow's retreat, a misunderstanding having arisen between the cabinets of St. Petersburg and Vienna, the Russian troops were recalled. Massena had again entered Italy; but being overpowered, was obliged to retreat into Genoa, where he was hard pressed by the Austrians, and subsequently compelled to capitulate, with a safe conduct for his army. The first consul then took the field. The battle of Marengo, gained by consummate skill, and after prodigious carnage, rendered him the second time conqueror of Italy. In this battle fell the brave general Dessaix, whose valour had contributed so much to the victory, and who had gained so much glory in Egypt. On the bloody plain of Marengo, the issue of the war was decided; a truce was immediately agreed to, and peace was concluded at Luneville on the 9th of February 1801, between France and Austria, principally on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio. The Netherlands and the left bank of the Rhine were annexed to the republic; Venice, Venetian Istria, Dalmatia, &c. were ceded to Austria, and the Cisalpine republic was re-established. In 1802, a peace was concluded with Great Britain, by which the latter restored most of her

conquests. The consular government then turned its attention to the re-establishment of the catholic religion, and the reduction of the rebellious colony of St. Domingo: a bloody war was carried on against the revolted negroes of that island, without effecting their subjugation. In the mean while, the hostile conduct of France towards the commerce of Great Britain, and the refusal of the latter to evacuate Malta, agreeably to treaty, excited in 1803, a new war between those two powers, in which the Batavian republic was necessarily implicated; and Spain, after some hesitation, joined in the contest. The naval occurrences of this, as well as of the revolutionary war, are noticed in our historical account of the affairs of Great Britain. In this place it is sufficient to say, that in her maritime efforts, France has been uniformly unsuccessful. Her numerous armies encamped on the coast, hurled their impotent threats of invasion, while her ports have been constantly blockaded, and her menacing flotillas have never appeared on the ocean.

The year 1804 forms another remarkable era in the history of France, by the change of her government from a republic to a monarchy. The enterprising first consul, resolving to distinguish himself by a measure which Cæsar durst not hazard at Rome, nor Cromwell in England, boldly changed the title of first consul for that of emperor of the French; and in order to imitate, or rather to exceed the splendor of Charlemagne, the pope was sent for from Rome, to place on his head the imperial crown. The Cisalpine republic was also erected into a kingdom, and general Bonaparte, by a singular junction of talents and fortune, adding the imperial and regal dignity to his military laurels, acquired the twofold title of emperor of the French, and king of Italy.

In the next year, 1805, the new emperor was called into the field to support his throne against a powerful combination of enemies. The grand project of a new coalition of the continental powers against France, which Mr. Pitt had long

meditated, and from which he had promised himself important results, was at length brought to maturity. This plan, which was calculated to bring into the field a formidable force of about five hundred thousand men, was well conceived; but it totally miscarried in the execution. The French emperor was no sooner apprised of their preparations, than he immediately put his armies in motion, and rapidly advanced into Germany. Disregarding the neutrality of Prussia, he marched through the marquisate of Anspach, and surprised the Austrians, who did not expect an attack from that quarter. They were defeated in several bloody actions, and Ulm, a place of great strength, the central point of their military plan, was, in a manner for which it is difficult to account, abandoned by general Mack, and taken possession of by the French. Whether this unaccountable evacuation of a place of such strength and importance, was the effect of pusillanimity, or treachery, or whether it ought to be attributed to reasons of necessity, or expediency, has not yet been satisfactorily ascertained. The French, however, after this met with little opposition in advancing through Germany. Vienna, which had twice withstood the most violent efforts of the Ottoman power, and had never before opened her gates to a conqueror, surrendered without resistance. Thus Germany was conquered, and its capital in the hands of the enemy, before the other armies of the coalition reached the theatre of the war. Prussia, after long deliberation, refused to join the alliance, and the Swedish army, assembled in Pomerania, never advanced to the scene of action. The formidable army of Russia, commanded by the emperor Alexander in person, at last entered Germany, and advanced into Moravia. The French emperor, aware that a winter's campaign against the hardy sons of the North, would exhaust and dispirit his troops, determined to bring the affair to the speedy decision of the sword. His troops flushed with victory, lost no time in marching against the enemy,

and the bloody battle of Austerlitz, fought on the 2d of December 1805, fatally decided the important contest. Three emperors, Napoleon of France, Alexander of Russia, and Francis of Austria, were present at this memorable battle, a circumstance unparalleled in military history. The French brought one hundred thousand men into the field; the Austro-Russian army consisted of about one hundred and five thousand. By feigning a retreat, and exhibiting other symptoms of fear, the French emperor drew the Russians and Austrians from their almost impregnable camp, and having by skilful manœuvres gained every possible advantage, made about day break, a general attack on their lines. Consummate bravery was displayed on both sides; but victory declared for the French. The loss of the Russians was dreadful, amounting to near half their army, and all their artillery.

The disaster of this fatal day was followed by an armistice, and the Russians immediately began their retreat. A peace was soon after concluded at Presburg, between France and Austria. The latter was devested of the city of Venice, and all the former Venetian territories in Austria, Dalmatia, and on the mouths of the Cattaro; which, with a great part of the Tyrol, were annexed to the Cisalpine republic. The changes made in Germany, will be noticed in our account of that country. Thus, by the precipitance of the Austrians, the tardiness of the Russians, the irresolution of the other powers, and, in fine, from the want of a well concerted plan steadily pursued, this formidable confederacy produced an effect diametrically opposite to what was intended; and, instead of humbling France, laid the continent of Europe at her feet. The French emperor, by his resolute measures and rapid movements, profiting by the mismanagement of the allies, destroyed in the space of two months, the second coalition of the continent—annihilated the Germanic constitution—and created his two brothers, Louis and Joseph, kings of Holland and Naples.

Germany now seemed to be delivered from the horrors of war; but the calm was of short duration. Prussia, which had constantly refused to join in the coalition with such powerful allies as Austria and Russia, at a time when her cooperation might have turned the scale of affairs on the continent, undertook single-handed, a war against France, which had just now shivered their mighty armies to atoms. The successes of France, and the disasters of Prussia, were more rapid than any recorded in modern history.

The battle of Jena, fought on the 14th of October 1806, between the French emperor and the king of Prussia, resulted in the total overthrow of the Prussian power. The king was totally defeated, with the loss of fifty thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, as well as of near three hundred pieces of cannon, with all his magazines and camp equipage, while the French, if we may credit their bulletins, lost only four thousand one hundred men. Berlin experienced the fate of Vienna, and was obliged to open her gates to the conqueror. The Prussians, losing province after province, and fortress after fortress, were driven beyond the Vistula, and the king began to re-assemble his scattered forces in the neighbourhood of Konigsberg. Russia, justly alarmed at the successes of the French, who were now advancing towards her borders, poured her armies into Prussian Poland, in order to stop their progress. The first attempt of the Russians was, to prevent the invader from taking possession of Warsaw. Their efforts, however, were unsuccessful: they found themselves obliged to retreat into that city, which they afterwards abandoned on the approach of the enemy. Napoleon then took possession of Warsaw, and the eagle standard of France, waved on the banks of the Vistula. The French, after passing that river, were for a long time successfully opposed by the Russian army under general Beningsen. Numerous skirmishes took place, with various success. The battles of Pultusk and Eylau, appear to have been indecisive, and even in some measure, disadvantageous to the French;

but at last the fatality which has attended all continental efforts, began to turn the scale. Dantzick was besieged and taken; and the fatal battle of Friedland, in which the Russians were defeated, put an end to the contest. Peace was concluded at Tilsit, between Russia, Prussia, and France. The king of Prussia was stripped of all his territories west of the Elbe. Westphalia was erected into a kingdom for Jerome Bonaparte, brother to the emperor. Saxony was also created a kingdom, and the duchy of Warsaw, now wrested from Prussia, was annexed to it. Dantzick was again restored to independence. The seven islands were ceded by Russia to France.

Since the peace concluded at Tilsit, the most prominent features of the history of France, are the encroachments of her emperor in Italy, particularly his seizure of the kingdom of Etruria, in the month of December 1807, and of Rome, in February 1808; with his iniquitous conduct toward the king of Spain, his friend and ally. The kingdom of Etruria or Tuscany, together with Parma and Placentia, are incorporated with the French empire; and Rome, with the whole of the papal dominions, are annexed to the kingdom of Italy.

Such have been the tremendous and extraordinary scenes, which have lately been exhibited on the political and military theatre of Europe: what effects may yet be produced by the gigantic power, and boundless ambition of the emperor of France, time will develop. The annihilation of the British commerce, is one of those great objects, to the attainment of which, all his power and policy are at present directed.

The history of France, shows more distinctly than that of almost any other country, the gradual progress of civilized society, and the reciprocal encroachments of one part of the community, on the rights and privileges of another. At one period, we have seen the fierce and independent Franks, equally and individually voting in the general assemblies of the nation, and their king considered only as a military chief.

We have then seen the nobility rise, and the people sink into slavery; the feudal system established in its most absolute form; the king reduced to the state of a paramount baron, inferior in wealth and power, to some of his vassals, and enjoying only a nominal authority; the commons excluded from the national assemblies, and those assemblies at last abolished, or fallen into disuse. We then find them revived, and the commons restored by Philip the Fair, to the right of voting in the great council of the nation, on the new plan of representation, and not individually, as under the kings of the first race. At a later period, Louis XI. renders himself master of the deliberations of the states, by corrupting their members; and by his standing army, despoils the nobles of their authority, without restoring it to the people: the government then becomes a despotic monarchy. In the civil wars, during the reigns of Charles IX. Henry III. and the minority of Louis XIII. the aristocracy regains a great part of its former powers; of which it is a second time dispossessed, by cardinal Richelieu, whose vigorous and sanguinary administration again rendered the royal authority absolute, and reduced the independent nobles, to the state of obsequious servants of the court. In the late revolution, we have seen liberty regained, immediately degenerate into licentiousness; an ancient and absolute monarchy, changed into a turbulent democracy; and have contemplated with astonishment, a great and numerous nation, governed for some years by a junto of the lowest, and worst of the people. To complete the catalogue of wonders, we have at last seen this so styled republican government, for the support, and for the overthrow of which, oceans of blood have been shed, vanish all at once, like a dream, and a military and despotic monarchy, under a new dynasty, arise in its place.

In taking a view of those recent events, which have rendered the history of France interesting, above that of all other nations, it will be found, that the revolution in the state, proceeded from a revolution in the minds of the people.

The age of Louis XIV. was that of magnificence and splendor, as well as of science and letters. The monarch was absolute, and the church was pre-eminent and powerful. Before the accession of the Capetine dynasty, the king was feeble: now the scene was changed, and the absolute power of the king controlled every thing in the state. Nothing was talked of, but the glory of the grand monarque, his brilliant conquests, and his invincible armies. This reign exhibited a splendid, but heterogenous mixture, of the spirit of chivalry, ancient credulity, and modern ideas. Such an union of contrary elements, could not be lasting; and the age of his successor, Louis XV. witnessed its dissolution. During almost the whole of his long reign, a numerous, and daily increasing party existed, which aimed at the subversion of christianity, necessarily involving that of all the existing governments of Europe. Inundating France with their writings, which prohibitions caused to be more eagerly read, they every where disseminated the principles of deism, and disorganization. The grandees, as well as the people, were corrupted by the writings of Voltaire, Rousseau, D'Alembert, Diderot, and others; and so striking an inconsistency, between institutions and opinions, was perceptible, that some great explosion appeared inevitable. At the accession of Louis XVI. the ancient institutions were no more than forms without power. The king had an absolute authority, without any fixed basis; and the revolution in the public mind, was completed by the part which the court of France took in the American war. In this school, in which were taught the rights of man, the French officers and soldiers, served an apprenticeship to liberty. On their return, they inspired their countrymen with the love and desire of freedom, and they themselves engaged ardently in its pursuit. But being deficient in those moral, and religious principles and habits, which the Americans generally possessed, the French mistook licentiousness for liberty, and subjected their country,

first to the excesses of unbridled democracy, and ultimately, to the horrors of despotism.

In tracing the revolution, through all the stages of its progress, we shall find that the commotions, the massacres, and the outrages which took place in France, originated in the jealousy, and distrust, which prevailed between the different orders of the community, and the different parties concerned in the revolution. These were artfully fomented by men, whose aim was the subversion of religion and government, and the pillage of all property. The misfortunes of the coalitions, may, in like manner, be traced to their want of confidence, concert, and perseverance; to mutual jealousies, which the sense of common danger could not remove. It has pretty generally been imagined, that if the king had made use of his military force, the revolution might have been suppressed at an early period. The correctness of this supposition, however, may be questioned, as revolutionary principles were scarcely less prevalent among the soldiery, than among the people. In observing the irresolution of the court—the extravagant acts of the demagogues—the misunderstandings of the different parties—the impolitic manifesto of Prussia—the severe treatment of La Fayette, and his companions—and the rash decree of the French convention, of the 19th of November, 1792, which, by offering fraternity and assistance to the revolutionists of every country, contributed to arm all Europe against France—with a variety of other mistakes on both sides, this period appears distinguished by egregious errors, as well as by extraordinary exertions.

The revolution of France presents a singular and tremendous era in the history of the world. Its distinguishing characteristic is, that in every stage of its progress it has baffled all political conjectures, and all tactical calculations. Posterity will look back with interest, and amazement, on its rise, its progress, and its termination; examine its causes and contemplate its consequences. This terrible period, which after

having drowned in seas of blood all former institutions, has changed the destinies of one half of Europe, and exhibited virtue, criminality, wisdom, folly, military valor, civic courage, and indeed every good and bad passion of our nature carried to an unprecedented extreme, and marked with an impression of unequalled grandeur, will furnish ample materials to the politican and the moral philosopher. Distant ages will shudder at the crimes of the tyrants of France; but while they deplore the evils of the revolution, will admire the noble actions to which it gave rise. Future innovators will find an awful lesson; and mankind will contemplate with horror, the delusions of that revolutionary frenzy, which sacrificed to visionary projects the happiness of the present, and hazarded that of future generations.

From France, no inconsiderable portion of the citizens of these United States has been derived.* Soon after the revocation of the edict of Nantz in 1685, many useful individuals fled from persecution to enjoy civil and religious freedom in the new world. These, in the course of one hundred and twenty-five years, have greatly increased. Their descendants must feel a lively interest in the destinies of the birth place of their forefathers, and an emotion of gratitude to that providence, which has placed them in a land of liberty, and at so great distance from one, in the horrors of whose late revolution, but for the mistaken policy of Louis XIV. they would probably have been involved.

From the first settlement of the country, till the fifth or sixth century, of the christian era, the religion of France was Pagan: from that period till the present it has been Catholic, with the exception of an abortive attempt at reformation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and a short period

* Projects for colonising North America were adopted as early by France as by England: and as late as the year 1757, it appeared to human foresight not improbable, that the former would be the predominant power in that portion of the new world which is now free and independent.

near the close of the eighteenth, in which every form of public religion was abolished.

Gaul, which is now called France, was in the time of Jesus Christ, a province of the Roman empire, and received some of the earliest beams of the rising light of christianity. In the first centuries, christianity extended and supported itself without the help, and against the persecutions of the Roman emperors. Numbers were converted from Paganism; several Christian societies were formed; and many eminent men sealed their doctrine with their blood.

In the fifth century, Clovis I. a Pagan king of France, fell in love with Clotilda, a Christian princess of the house of Burgundy, who consented to marry him only on condition of his becoming a Christian. The king, however, delayed the performance of this condition till five years after his marriage, when being engaged in a desperate battle, and having reason to fear the total defeat of his army, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and put up this prayer. "God of queen Clotilda! grant me the victory, and I vow to be baptized and henceforth to worship no other God but thee." He obtained the victory, and at his return was baptized at Rheims, December 25th, 496. His sister, and more than three thousand of his subjects followed his example, and Christianity became the religion of France.

Baptism did not wash away the sins of Clovis; before it, he was vile, after it he was infamous, practising all kinds of treachery and cruelty. The court, the army, and the common people who were pagan, when the king was pagan, and christian when he was christian, continued unchanged in their morals. When the christian church opened her doors, and delivered up her keys to these new converts, she gained nothing in comparison with what she lost. She increased the number, the riches, the pomp, and the power of her family; but she resigned the purity of worship, the grand simplicity of innocence, truth, and virtue, and became a creature of the state.

By the conversion of such christians as these, christianity was greatly degenerated. They elevated the christian church into a temporal kingdom, and degraded temporal kingdoms into fiefs of the church. By these means, they completed that general apostacy, known by the name of Popery, which rendered the reformation of the sixteenth century essential to interests of all mankind.

The state of religion at that time (1515) was truly deplorable. Ecclesiastical government, instead of that evangelical simplicity which Jesus Christ and his apostles had taught, was become a spiritual dominion, under the form of a temporal empire. The chief ministers of religion were actually temporal princes, and the high priest being absolute sovereign of the ecclesiastical state, had his court, his council, his ambassadors, and his armies. The clergy had acquired immense wealth, and to collect and augment their revenues they had constituted numberless spiritual corporations, with powers, rights, statutes, privileges, and officers. The functions of the ministry were generally neglected, and gross ignorance prevailed. All ranks of men were extremely depraved in their morals: and the Pope's penitentiary had published the price of every crime, as it was rated in the tax book of the Roman chancery. Marriages, which reason and scripture allowed, the Pope prohibited, and for money dispensed with those which both forbad. Church benefices were sold to children, and to laymen, who then let them to under tenants, none of whom performed the duty for which the profits were paid: but all having obtained them by simony, spent their lives in fleecing the flock to repay themselves. The power of the pontiff was so great, that he assumed and was suffered to exercise a supremacy over many kingdoms. When monarchs disobliged him, he suspended all religious worship in their dominions; published false and abusive libels called bulls, which operated as laws to injure their persons; discharged their subjects from obedience, and gave their crowns to any one who would

usurp them: He claimed an infallibility of knowledge and an omnipotence of strength, and forbad the world to examine his claim. He affected to extend his authority over heaven and hell, as well as over a middle spot called purgatory, of all which places he pretended to keep the keys.

Religion itself was made to consist in the performance of numerous ceremonies, of pagan, jewish, and monkish extraction, all which might be performed without either faith in God, or love to mankind. Public worship was celebrated in an unknown tongue, and the sacrament was adored as the body and blood of Christ. Vice, uncontrolled by reason, or scripture, committed the most horrid crimes, and superstition atoned for them by building and endowing religious houses, and by bestowing donations on the church. Human merit was introduced, and saints were invoked. The whole was denominated the Holy Catholic and Apostolic church.

Loud complaints had been made of these excesses, to those whose business it was to correct them, who had owned the necessity of reformation, and had repeatedly promised to attempt it. Several councils had been called for the purpose of reforming: but nothing had been done, nor could any thing be expected from assemblies of mercenary men who were too deeply interested in darkness to vote for light. They were inflexible against every remonstrance. As they were too obstinate to reform, and too proud to be reformed by their inferiors, the people at length laid aside all thoughts of applying to them and went about reforming themselves. The reformers were neither popes, cardinals, nor bishops, but they were honest men, who aimed to promote the glory of God and the good of mankind. Such was the state of the church when Francis I. ascended the throne in 1515.

The reformation which began in Germany, had extended itself to Geneva, and from thence into France. The French had a translation of the Bible, which had been made in 1224. It had been revised, corrected, and printed at Paris, in 1487.

The study of it now began to prevail, and the reformation greatly increased. Calvin, who in 1534 had fled from his rectory in France, and had settled at Geneva in 1541, was a chief instrument in promoting it. Some of the bishops were inclined to the reformation; but through fear of the power of Rome, durst not avow it. The reformation was called Calvinism. The people were named Lutherans, Calvinists, and nicknamed Hugonots.

Henry II. who succeeded his father Francis, 1547, violently persecuted the Calvinists of France, having been taught to believe that they were a faction hostile to public authority. The reformation was nevertheless very much advanced in his reign. The gentry promoted the acting of plays, in which the comedians exposed the lives and doctrines of the popish clergy. Beza, who had fled to Geneva in 1548, came into France, and was a chief promoter of the work. His Latin testament, which he first published in this reign, was much read and greatly admired. The New Testament was the sword of the clerical reformers.

Francis II. succeeded his father Henry in 1559. In this reign began those civil wars, which raged in France for almost forty years. They have been attributed to a false zeal for religion: but this charge is a calumny, for the crown of France was the prize for which the generals fought. It was that which inspired them with hopes, and fears, productive of devotion or persecution, as either of them opened access to the throne. The interests of religion indeed fell in with these views, and thus the parties were blended together in war.

Protestantism had obtained numerous converts about this time. Several princes of the blood, some chief officers of the crown, and many principal families, had embraced it, and its partisans were so numerous both in Paris, and in all the provinces, that each leader of the court parties deliberated on the policy of strengthening his faction by openly espousing the reformation, by endeavouring to free the protestants from penal laws, and by obtaining a free toleration for them. The

house of Bourbon declared for protestantism; the Guises were inspired with zeal for the support of the ancient religion, and took the Roman Catholics under their protection. The king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé were the heads of the first; but the duke of Guise had the address to obtain the chief management of affairs, and the protestants were persecuted with insatiable fury.

Admiral Coligni, in August 1560, presented a petition to the king, in the name of all the protestants in France, humbly praying that they might be allowed the free exercise of their religion. The king referred the matter to the parliament, who consulted about it with the lords of his council. A warm debate ensued, and the catholics carried it against the protestants by three voices. It was resolved that this people should be obliged either to conform to the old established church, or to quit the kingdom, with permission to sell their estates. The protestants argued that in a point of such importance, it would be unreasonable on account of three voices to inflame all France with animosity and war: and that the alternative of banishment was impossible to be adopted. The chancellor and the protestant lords used every effort to procure a toleration, while the catholic party urged the necessity of uniformity in religion.

After repeated meetings, and various warm debates, it was agreed, as one side would not submit to a general council, nor the other to a national assembly, that a conference should be held at Poissy between both parties. This meeting took place in August, 1561, in the presence of the kings, the princes of the blood, the nobility, cardinals, prelates, and grandees of both parties. On the popish side, six cardinals, four bishops, and several dignified clergymen, and on the protestant, about twelve of the most famous reformed ministers, managed the dispute; but from it nothing resulted. Nevertheless the reformation gained ground so rapidly, that it was likely to subvert Popery in the kingdom.

The protestants began now to appear more publicly than before. The queen of Navarre caused Beza openly to solemnize a marriage in a noble family after the Genevan manner. The nobility thought that the common people had as good a right to hear the gospel, as themselves, and caused the reformed clergy to preach without the walls of Paris. Their auditors were frequently thirty or forty thousand: and during the sermon, the governor of Paris placed soldiers to guard the avenues and to prevent disturbances.

The queen regent, by the advice of the chancellor Michael de L' Hospital, granted an edict to enable the protestants to preach in all parts of the kingdom, except in Paris and in other walled cities. The parliaments of France had then the power of refusing to register royal edicts. This one after much opposition was registered with a preamble, reciting, that it was adopted in consideration of the present juncture of the times, but not approving of the new religion in any manner, and till the king shall otherwise appoint.

This edict was a pretence for commencing hostilities. The duke of Guise went to Vassi, a town adjacent to one of his lordships, and some of his retinue engaging in a quarrel with a party of protestants who were hearing a sermon in a barn, he interested himself in it, wounded two hundred, and left sixty dead on the spot. In this conflict, which occurred on the 1st of March 1562, the first protestant blood was shed in the civil war.

The news of this affair spread rapidly, and while the duke was marching to Paris with a thousand horse, the city and the provinces rose in arms.

The queen regent, alarmed at the duke's approach to Paris, threw herself into the hands of the protestants, and ordered Condé to take up arms, in August 1562. War began, and barbarities and cruelties were practised on both sides. The duke of Guise was assassinated, the king of Navarre was killed at a siege, fifty thousand protestants were slain, and after a year had been spent in these horrors, a peace was concluded in 1563. All that the protestants obtained was an

edict which excluded the exercise of their religion from cities, and confined it to their own families.

Peace did not continue long; for the protestants having received intelligence that the pope, the house of Austria, and the house of Guise had conspired their ruin, took up arms again in their own defence, 1567. The city of Rochelle declared for them, and it served them as an asylum for sixty years. They were assisted by queen Elizabeth of England, and by the German princes: and they obtained, at the conclusion of the second war, in 1568, the revocation of all penal edicts, the exercise of their religion in their families, and the grant of six cities for their security.

A strange confusion followed in the direction of affairs: one edict allowed liberty, another forbad it, and it was plain to the protestants that their situation was very delicate and dangerous. The articles of the last peace had never been performed; and the papists every where insulted their liberties, so that in three months time two thousand Hugonots were murdered, and their murderers went unpunished. War broke out again in 1568. Queen Elizabeth assisted the protestants with money. She caused the New Testament, the Catechism, and the liturgy of Geneva to be translated and printed at Rochelle. She abolished popery, and established protestantism in her own dominions. In her leisure hours, she expressed her zeal by working tapestries with her own hands, in which she represented the monuments of that liberty which she procured by shaking off the yoke of the Pope. One suit consisted of twelve pieces. On each piece was represented some scripture history of deliverance; Israel coming out of Egypt, Joseph's release from prison or something of the like kind. On the top of each piece were these words, "where the spirit is, there is liberty." The pieces became fashionable patterns, and thus the needles of the ladies co-operated in the reformation.

After many negociations, another peace was concluded, 1570, and the free exercise of religion was again allowed in

all but walled cities; two cities in every province were assigned to the protestants; and they were to be admitted into all universities, schools, hospitals, and public offices. To insure the duration of peace, a matrimonial alliance was proposed between Henry of Navarre and the sister of king Charles. These articles were accepted, the nuptials were agreed to, and the sword was once more put into its sheath. A few days after the marriage, admiral Coligni, who was one of the principal protestant leaders, was assassinated. This alarmed the king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé: but the king and his mother promising to punish the assassin, they remained quiet. The next Sunday, being St. Bartholomew's day, August 24th, when the bell rang for morning prayers, the duke of Guise appeared with a great number of soldiers and citizens, and began a general massacre of the Hugonots. Charles appeared at the windows of his palace, and endeavoured to shoot those who fled, crying to their pursuers, "kill them, kill them." The work of death continued seven days; seven hundred houses were pillaged; five thousand people perished in Paris; neither age nor sex, nor even women with child were spared; one butcher boasted to the king that he had hewn down a hundred and fifty in one night. The flame ran from Paris to the provinces, where twenty-five thousand more were cruelly slain: the queen of Navarre was poisoned, and during the massacre, the king offered the king of Navarre and the young prince of Condé their choice of death, or the bastile, in case of their refusal to renounce Hugonotism, saying he would not have one left to reproach him! The protestants put on their armour again, and commenced a fourth civil war. During these troubles, the king died in the twenty-fifth year of his age, 1574.

Henry III. who succeeded his brother Charles, was first despised and then hated by his subjects. In this reign A. D. 1576, was formed the famous league which reduced France to a most miserable condition. The chief promoter of it was the duke of Guise. The pretence was the preservation of the

catholic religion. The weak Henry subscribed to it at first, in hopes of subduing the Hugonots; the queen mother, the Guises, the Pope, the king of Spain, many of the clergy, and multitudes of the people became leaguers. When Henry perceived that Guise was aiming by this league to dethrone him, he favoured the protestants, and they obtained an edict in 1576, for the free exercise of their religion: but edicts were vain, against the power of the league: and three civil wars raged in this reign.

The pretended zeal of Guise for the Romish religion gratified the clergy, and France was filled with seditious books and sermons. The preachers of the league expatiated on the excellence of the established church, the necessity of uniformity, the horrors of Hugonotism, the merit of killing the tyrant on the throne, and every thing else that could inflame the madness of party rage. Though these clergymen disgraced their office, they were protected and preferred to dignities in the church both in France and Spain.

The Guises obliged the king to forbid the exercise of the protestant religion: but the reformation diffused itself more and more in this reign. The exiles at Geneva filled France with a new translation of the Bible, with books, letters, catechisms, hymns and preachers; the people contrasting the religion of Christ with the religion of Rome, entertained a most serious aversion to the latter.

With this king ended the family of Valois, and the next heir was Henry IV. of the house of Bourbon, king of Navarre. His majesty had been educated a protestant, and had been the protector of the party: and the protestants had reason to expect much from him on his ascending the throne of France: but he had many difficulties to surmount. On the one side were almost all the nobility, the whole court of the late king, all protestant states and princes and the old Hugonot troops: on the other hand he had against him the common people, most of the great cities, all the parliaments, except two, the greatest part of the clergy, the Pope, the king

of Spain, and most catholic states. Four years his majesty deliberated, negociated, and fought, but could not gain Paris. At length the league set up a king of the house of Guise, and Henry found that the throne was accessible to none but Papists: he therefore renounced his religion, and professed his conversion to popery. Paris opened its gates in 1594, the Pope sent an absolution, and Henry became a catholic king.

When his majesty reached his palace in Paris, he thought proper to conciliate his new friends by showing them particular esteem. His old servants, who had shed rivers of blood to bring the house of Bourbon to the throne, thought themselves neglected.

To ascend the throne of France, Henry had offered violence to his conscience, by embracing popery, and he had stirred up a general discontent among the French protestants. The queen of England and the protestant states reproached him bitterly, while the league refused to acknowledge him, till the pope had absolved him in form. Several cities held out against him; many of the clergy thought him an hypocrite; and refused to insert his name in the public prayers of the church; the lawyers published libels against him; the Jesuits threatened to assassinate him; and actually made the attempt.

The king had been so well acquainted with the protestants, that he perfectly knew their principles, and could he have followed his inclination, he would have instantly granted them all they wanted. Their enemies had falsely said that they were enemies to government: but the king knew better, and he also knew that the claims of his family would have been long ago buried in oblivion had not the protestants supported them. Parties, however, ran so high that precipitancy would have lost all, and Henry was obliged to proceed by slow and cautious steps.

The deputies of the Hugonots, soon waited on his majesty to congratulate him, and pray for liberty of conscience. The king allowed them to hold a general assembly, and offered

them some slight satisfaction: but the hardy veteran Hugonots, who had spent their days in the field, took the liberty of reminding him that they would not be paid in compliments for so many signal services. Their fathers and they had supported his right to the crown, along with their own right to liberty of conscience; and as providence had granted the one, they expected that the other would not be denied. The king felt the force of these remonstrances, and ventured to allow them to hold provincial assemblies; after a while to convene a national synod, and as soon as he could, he granted them the edict of Nantz.

This edict which was called perpetual and irrevocable, granted to the protestants liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of religion; many churches in all parts of France; and judges of their own persuasion; a free access to all places of honour and dignity; great sums of money to pay off their troops; an hundred places as pledges of their future security; and certain funds to maintain both their preachers and their garrisons. Some of the catholic leaders were highly offended because the Hugonots were thus qualified for offices and places of trust; but Henry sent for some of the chiefs to his closet, made them a most pathetic speech on the occasion, and with some difficulty brought them to a compliance.

It would be difficult to name a period in which heavier calamities were experienced by the great mass of society, than that which followed the attempt to introduce the reformed religion into France. After a million of lives had been destroyed, after nine civil wars, four pitched battles, the siege of several hundred places, more than three hundred engagements, poisoning, burning, assassinating, massacring, murdering in every form, France was forced to submit to what her wise chancellor de L'Hopital had at first proposed, a free toleration.

That country now began to taste the sweets of peace; the king employed himself in making his subjects happy; and the far greater part of his subjects endeavoured to render him

so. The protestants applied themselves to the care of their churches, and as they had at this time a great many able ministers, they flourished and increased in abundance during the remaining part of this reign. The doctrine of their churches was Calvinism, and their discipline was presbyterian after the Genevan plan. Their churches were supplied with able pastors, their universities adorned with learned and pious professors, such as Casaubon, Daille, and others; their provincial and national synods were regularly convened, and their people were well governed. Much pains were taken with the king to alienate his mind from his protestant subjects: but no motives could influence him. He knew the worth of the men, and he protected them as long as he lived. This great prince was hated by the popish clergy for his lenity, and was stabbed by the execrable Ravaillac, May 14th, 1610.

Louis XIII. was not quite nine years of age, when he succeeded his father Henry. The first act of the queen mother, who had the regency during the king's minority, was the confirmation of the edict of Nantz. Louis confirmed it again in 1614, at his majority, promising to observe it inviolably. The protestants deserved a confirmation of their privileges at his hands, for they had taken no part in the civil wars and disturbances which had troubled his minority. They had been earnestly solicited to intermeddle with government, but they had wisely avoided it.

Louis was a weak superstitious man. By a solemn act of devotion he consecrated his person, his dominions, his crown, and his subjects to the Virgin Mary in 1638, desiring her to defend his kingdom, and to inspire him with grace to lead a holy life. The popish clergy venerated him for sanctifying their superstitions by his example, and he in return lent them his power to punish his protestant subjects whom he hated.

Louis's prime minister was an artful, enterprising clergyman, who, before his elevation, was a country bishop, and

was afterwards known by the title of cardinal de Richelieu. He was a man of great ability, but of little virtue.

Richelieu advised the king to establish the catholic religion. He assured his majesty that the Hugonots had the power of doing him mischief, and that it was a principle with them, that kings might be deposed by the people.

The king, intoxicated with despotical principles, followed the fatal advice of his minister, and began with his patrimonial province of Bearn, where he caused the catholic religion to be established, in 1620. The Hugonots broke out into violence at this attack on their liberties, whence the king took an opportunity to recover several places from them; but made peace with them on condition of their demolishing all their fortifications, except those of Montauban and Rochelle.

The politic Richelieu invariably pursued his design of rendering his master absolute. By one act he subdued the nobility, by another the parliaments, and he had engines of all sorts to extirpate heresy. He pretended to have formed the design of re-uniting the two churches of protestants and catholics. By bribes and influence, he drew off from the protestant party the dukes of Sully, Bouillon, Lesdeguieres, Rohan, and many of the first quality.

The protestants had resolved, in a general assembly, to die rather than to submit to the loss of their liberties; but the king was weak, the prime minister wicked, their clerical enemies powerful and implacable, and they were obliged to bear those infractions of edicts which their oppressors committed every day. At length Richelieu determined to put a period to their hopes by taking Rochelle. The city was besieged both by sea and land, and the efforts of the besieged were at last overcome by famine; for they had lived without bread for thirteen weeks; and of eighteen thousand citizens, there were not above five thousand left. The strength of the protestants was broken by the surrender of this city.

The cardinal was determined not to stop till he had established uniformity in the church; without which, he thought

something was wanting to his master's power. The protestants did all that prudence could suggest. In 1631, they sent the famous Amyraut to complain to the king of the infraction of their rights. Richelieu had many conferences with him, and if negociation could have accommodated the dispute, it would now have been done. Amyraut was treated with the utmost politeness, and dismissed.

The affairs of the protestants waxed every day worse and worse. They saw the clouds gathering, and they dreaded the weight of the storm; but they knew not whither to flee. Some escaped to England, but found no peace there. Laud, the tyrant of the English church, had Richelieu's heart without his abilities; he persecuted them, and in 1634, drove them back, to the infinite damage of the manufactures of the kingdom.

Cardinal Richelieu's hoary head went down to the grave in 1642, without the tears of his master, and with the hatred of all France. The king soon followed him, complaining in the words of Job, "my soul is weary of my life." The protestants, though they had lost their power, were now computed to exceed two millions.

Louis XIV. was only in the fifth year of his age at the demise of his father. The queen-mother was appointed sole regent during his minority. The edict of Nantz was confirmed in 1643, by the regent, and again by the king at his majority.

Louis, who was a perfect tool of the Jesuits, as soon as he took the management of affairs into his own hand, made a firm resolution to destroy the protestants. He tried to weaken them by buying off their great men, and he had much success. Some, indeed, were superior to this state trick: and it was a noble answer which the marquis de Bougy gave, when he was offered a marshal's staff, and any government that he might choose, provided he would turn papist. "Could I be prevailed upon," said he "to betray my God for the staff of

a marshal of France, I might betray my king for a thing of much less consequence; but I will do neither."

The king exhorted the bishops to take care, that the points in controversy, between the Catholics and Calvinists, should be much insisted on by the clergy in their sermons, especially in those places that were mostly inhabited by the latter, and that a good number of missionaries should be sent among them to convert them to the religion of their ancestors. The catholic clergy were numerous, were all creatures of the crown, and well paid, and several of them were men of learning. But the protestants had no fears on this head. They were excellent scholars, and masters of the controversy. They published unanswerable arguments for their non-conformity. The famous Mr. Claude, pastor of the church at Charenton, near Paris, wrote a defence of the reformation, which all the clergy of France could not answer. The bishops, however, answered the protestants all at once, by procuring an edict which forbad them to print.

The king, in prosecution of his design, excluded the Calvinists from his household, and from all other employments of honour and profit. He ordered all the courts of justice, erected by virtue of the edict of Nantz, to be abolished, and immediately made several laws in favour of the catholic religion, and others which bore hard on the protestants. He ordered soldiers to be quartered in the houses of the latter, till they changed their religion. He shut up their churches, and forbad the ministerial function to their clergy; and where his commands were not readily obeyed, he levelled their churches with the ground. At last, on the 22d of October, 1685, he revoked the edict of Nantz, and banished the protestants from the kingdom.

Parallel instances of cruelty are not to be found among the heathens, in their persecutions of the primitive christians. The bloody butchers, who were sent to them under the name of dragoons, invented a thousand torments to tire their patience, and to force from them an abjuration of their religion.

"They cast some," says Mr. Claude, "into large fires, and took them out when they were half roasted. They hanged others with large ropes under the arm-pits, and plunged them several times into wells, till they promised to renounce their religion. They tied them like criminals on the rack, and poured wine with a funnel into their mouths, till, being intoxicated, they declared that they consented to turn catholics. Some they cut with penknives, others they took by the nose with red hot tongs, and led them up and down the rooms till they promised to turn catholics." These cruel proceedings made eight hundred thousand persons quit the kingdom.

The repeal of the edict of Nantz, which had been the security of the protestants, was perfidious, for it had been given by Henry IV. as a perpetual and irrevocable decree; it had been confirmed by the succeeding princes, and Louis XIV. himself had publicly assigned the loyalty of the protestants as a reason of the confirmation. "My subjects of the pretended reformed religion," says he, "have given me unquestionable proofs of their affection and loyalty." The ill policy of it is confessed on all sides. To banish eight hundred thousand persons for believing that a free exercise of religion ought not to injure any man's civil rights, was the extreme of folly. To banish men whose doctrines had kept in the kingdom, during the space of one hundred and seventy years, the sum of two hundred and fifty millions of livres, which would otherwise have gone to Rome for indulgences and other papal acts, was miserable economy. The protestants having been for some time excluded from all offices, and not being suffered to enjoy any civil or military employments, had applied themselves either to manufactures, or to the improving of their money in trade. The country which received such men was enriched; that which banished them impoverished. Had England derived no more advantage from its hospitality to the refugees, than the silk manufacture, in 1698, it would have amply repaid the nation. The revocation of the edict of Nantz did not answer the expectations of its

authors, for the protestants were not extirpated. There remained almost as many in the kingdom as were driven out of it.

Louis XIV. was at the height of his power at the conclusion of the peace of Nimeguen, in 1679. His influence was felt all over Europe. In six years afterwards he began to extirpate the Hugonots, and at the same time began to fall.

Protestant powers opened their arms to these venerable exiles. Abbadie, Ancillon, and others, fled to Berlin. Basnage, Claude, Du Bosc, and many more, found refuge in Holland. The famous Dr. Allix, with numbers of his brethren, went to England. A considerable number came to the British colonies in North America, particularly New York and Carolina. Their posterity, now in the fifth and sixth generation, from the original stock, are among the best citizens of the United States. Henry Laurens, John Jay, and Elias Boudinot, three of the nine Presidents of the old Congress, who conducted the public business in the revolutionary war, were the descendents of French refugees, who settled in America in consequence of their expulsion from France. It may be farther added, that the French revolution, in the close of the eighteenth century, was probably one of the effects of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, about one hundred years before; for the expulsion of the protestants kept down the spirit of liberty. Unchecked arbitrary power proceeded from bad to worse, till the accumulated evils of bad government, gave occasion to the violent agitations, which ever since the year 1789, have convulsed that kingdom.

One of the first acts of Napoleon, in his capacity of ruler of France, was to restore the catholic religion; which, with every trace of christianity, had been abolished by the revolutionary government. Liberty of conscience, however, was granted to all denominations. The hierarchy is nearly the same as before the revolution. At that period, France comprised about twenty archiepiscopal, and one hundred and thirty episcopal sees. According to the new regulation of the

church, the ecclesiastical revenues consist of pecuniary stipends. The sequestration and sale of the church lands, during the revolution, rendered this arrangement necessary. Notwithstanding, however, the re-establishment of the catholic church, deistical principles are extremely prevalent; and a greater laxity in regard to religious opinions is observable in France, than in most other christian countries.

The government of France resembles that of the ancient Roman empire, being a military monarchy, with many of the ostensible forms of a republic. The laws, as well as the senate and councils, are fluctuating; but trial by jury now constitutes a characteristic feature of French jurisprudence; and torture was abolished by the late unfortunate monarch.

The standing army of France, before the revolution, generally consisted of about two hundred and twenty thousand men. On some occasions, and particularly in the wars of Louis XIV. the effective military force was augmented to four hundred thousand. The enthusiasm of the revolutionary war, and the fearful menaces of the combined powers, increased the forces of the republic to one million of fighting men; and in the year 1794, the six armies on the frontiers amounted to seven hundred and eighty thousand, besides the garrisons of the interior. No other nation can boast so numerous and well managed an artillery. The municipal army, or national guards, is a kind of militia instituted for the purpose of internal defence.

The maritime power of France has often been formidable. Louis XIV. disputed with England the empire of the seas; but the battle of La Hogue decided the contest. Since that time, France has made many energetic, but ineffectual struggles on that element. At the commencement of the American war, her fleet, combined with that of Spain, rode triumphant in the channel; but before its termination, her navy, every where defeated, was reduced to a very low state. A similar event has taken place in all her subsequent maritime contests with Great Britain. Ships may be built or purchased, but an ex-

tensive commerce alone can produce experienced seamen. At present, the naval power of France, as well as her commerce, is almost annihilated.

The national revenue of France has been variously computed; but from a comparison of documents, it appears that its amount has generally been about twenty millions sterling. According to the most recent accounts, it is now increased to about twenty-five millions sterling; and the revolution extinguished the national debt.

After what has already been said of the manufactures and commerce of France, little remains to be added. The silk manufactures of Lyons, and the woollens and linens of Rouen, have been noticed, as well as the manufactures of some other cities. Abbeville, in Picardy, has long been famous for its fine broadcloths, and Louviers, in Normandy, has an excellent manufactory of the same kind. Limoges is noted for one of druggists, as well as for about seventy paper-mills. Nismes has considerable manufactures of silk, cotton, and thread, and Grange is famous for silk stockings. The manufactures of plate glass at St. Gobin, are esteemed the first in Europe; its superiority is generally attributed to the exclusive use of beech wood for the melting. Cambray is famous for cambrics, which from that place derive their name. Beauvais fabricates tapestries, and printed calicoes, and is one of the most active manufacturing towns in France. Nantz, Mont Cenis, Chateau Roux, and many other places, boast of extensive iron works. Before the revocation of the edict of Nantz, A. D. 1685, France possessed the most flourishing manufactures in Europe. Since that time they have been on the decline, and the late revolution converted most of her artisans into soldiers.

In 1788, just before the revolution, the imports of France amounted to about 12,500,000 pounds sterling, and her exports to about 15,000,000 pounds sterling. Her sugar trade with her colonies, was formerly extremely beneficial; but these have, in a great measure, lost their importance by the revolt of St. Domingo, the convulsions of which have agi-

tated the other islands; and by the obstruction of their intercourse with Europe, by the naval superiority of Great Britain. Her trade with Turkey is, in time of peace, extremely lucrative; but at present, what remains of her commerce is principally carried on with Italy, Spain, and Holland. France may, indeed, at all times, possess a considerable trade with the interior of Europe. Her principal exports are manufactured silks, woollens, and linens, wines, and brandy; her imports are chiefly wool, hemp, raw silk, tallow, and timber.

The population of France, before the revolution, was computed at twenty-six millions; and notwithstanding the loss of men with which she has purchased her bloody victories, the extension of her boundaries has given it a very considerable increase. At present it is supposed to be thirty-three millions.

Holland, Germany, and Italy, being under the domineering influence of France, she must be regarded as arbitress of the European continent, until some unforeseen revolution shall shake her colossal power, and lessen her preponderancy. But notwithstanding her formidable military strength, her marine is of little consequence.

The French language, the most universally diffused of any in Europe, is a mixture of the Latin, Gothic, and Celtic. Its characteristics are clearness, precision, and colloquial elegance; but force and sublimity cannot be ranked among its excellencies. The literature of France, like that of the rest of Europe, was buried in the gloom of the middle ages, and appeared only at the general revival. But it soon made a rapid progress, and the reign of Louis XIV. was the age of literary as well as military glory. Corneille, distinguished by grandeur, and Racine, by elegiac elegance, Crebillon, by tragic pomp, and Moliere, by comic powers, may be named among a crowd of authors, who do honour to their language and country. To mention the modern writers, eminent for talents and eloquence, would swell this article to a volume. Fenelon, the great master of placid instruction, will

be read as long as learning and taste shall exist; and no one is unacquainted with the names of Rousseau and Voltaire, not less famed for their seductive eloquence, than notorious for their propagation of infidelity. In the bold exertions of inventive genius, and the profound investigations of philosophy, France cannot vie with Italy or England; but in elegant literature, and exact science, she stands almost unrivalled. In the polite arts, she acknowledges no superior, except in her music, in which she must yield to Italy, and even to Germany.

Previous to the revolution, the general education of youth was neglected. National instruction, however, attracted the attention of the new rulers; and among many plausible plans presented to the convention, some were adopted, but with what success, time must discover. Before that event, France boasted of twenty-one universities, of which the Sorbonne, at Paris, was the most celebrated. But such institutions are inadequate to the general instruction of the people. Primary, central, and special schools, are now established; a primary school in each canton, a central school for each department, and special schools for the higher sciences. In these establishments, education is at the public expense. There are three of these central schools in Paris, and each of them possesses a good library, with a collection of mathematical instruments, &c. How far this arrangement may be adequate to the grand object of a national education, is not yet fully ascertained; but to describe all the various literary and scientific establishments of France, would protract this article to a tedious length.

The manners and customs of the French are well known, and have been often delineated. Vivacity, gayety, politeness, are its principal features. That *savoir vivre* which enables a Frenchman to dispose his occupations and pleasures in an agreeable succession, constitutes his happiness. With all this gayety and elegance, domestic and personal cleanliness is less general in France than it ought to be. Paris has long afford-

ed models of dress to all Europe; and the fantastic fashions of that brilliant metropolis have not yet lost their sway. Operas, balls, masquerades, and the amusements of the theatre, are common in all their great cities. They are fond of hunting. In the exercises of dancing and fencing, the French excel most of their neighbours.

That which alone can be deemed a distinctive feature of the French character, is their gayety and sprightly vivacity. Physicians attribute this to the purity of the air, and their temperate mode of living. From whatever cause this national characteristic may proceed, it contributes in no small degree to the happiness of the French, who are in general, observed to bear up against the vicissitudes of fortune, with a better grace than most other people. Even under the lash of despotism, and amidst the greatest national troubles, society in France has generally had a pleasing and lively appearance. Paris is now, as it has been for centuries past, the gayest capital in Europe; even during the horrors of the revolution, it continued to be the centre of dissipation. While in one part of the city, the revolutionary axe was immolating its numerous victims, in another the theatres were crowded, and every thing wore the aspect of joyous festivity.

BELGIUM.

TOPOGRAPHICAL HISTORY.

The recent annexation of the Austrian Netherlands to France, unavoidably creates a division in the geography and history of the Gallic empire. The political, and civil, as well as the physical circumstances of these two countries, have long been almost totally different, and their late incorporation has not yet accustomed us to consider them in the same point of view. In perusing a separate description of Belgium, the reader, however, will recollect that it now constitutes an integral part of France, and has lost its principal characters of distinction. Its length is about 180 miles, and its breadth about 120.

The face of the country presents little variety. The western parts are uniformly flat, the eastern somewhat more elevated; but no part of the Netherlands presents any thing deserving the name of a mountain.

These provinces, though destitute of mountains, abound with rivers. The Rhine, the Meuse, and the Scheldt, are in some respects attached to Belgium.

Lead, and copper, are found in the province of Namur, and Hainault affords some mines of iron. Luxembourg supplies a very considerable quantity of this most useful of metals, and derives from its iron works, a great part of its wealth. The iron mines of the forest of Ardennes, still retain their ancient celebrity. Marble and alabaster are met with in some of the eastern districts, and coal is found in considerable plenty.

With a few trifling exceptions, such as perhaps every country admits, the soil of the Netherlands is exceedingly fertile, being mostly a rich sandy loam, interspersed with fields of clay and sometimes of sand. The whole of these provinces collectively taken, are excellently adapted both to corn and pasturage.

The climate is somewhat foggy and moist, especially towards the coast. In the eastern parts, the air is more serene and salubrious.

Belgium, from the state of its agriculture, was, even in distant ages, esteemed the garden of Europe, a title to which it has not yet lost its claim. Its excellent crops of clover, cole, turnips, flax, wheat, barley, oats, &c. attract the attention of skilful foreigners. Timber is not scarce, except in the maritime tracts. Several woods are seen in the centre of Flanders, and Brabant. The more eastern and southern parts present striking remains of the ancient forest of Ardennes. Of all the provinces of the Netherlands, the duchy of Luxembourg is the only one that produces wine.

Brussels, formerly the seat of the Austrian government, in the Netherlands, has generally been considered as the capital. It is situated on the small river Senne. Being seated on several eminences, it has at a distance a fine appearance, and presents many beautiful points of view. It is well supplied with excellent water, and provisions are plentiful, cheap, and good. The imperial palace, the ci-devant residence of the Austrian governor, displays a considerable degree of magnificence. The population is computed at about eighty thousand.

Ghent, in Flanders, is a city of vast extent, owing to its being situated on several islands, formed by four rivers and a number of canals, and including gardens and even fields within its spacious limits. The circuit of its walls is about fifteen miles; but its population does not amount to more than sixty thousand persons. It is memorable for being the birth place of the emperor Charles V.

Antwerp, in the ancient province of Brabant, is at present the third city; but was once the first in the Netherlands, and pre-eminent in wealth and commerce. It is situated on the estuary of the Scheldt. The harbour is excellent, and the artificial impediments at the mouth of the Scheldt, either are or will be completely removed. But although the commerce of Antwerp will undoubtedly revive, that city will never more become, as it formerly was, the great mart of nations. Its trade is now turned into different channels. The manufactures by which it was supported, have fixed their seats in other countries, and that immense capital formerly employed in carrying it on, has been transferred to other commercial towns, first to Amsterdam, and Rotterdam, and now chiefly to London. Antwerp, however, still contains some of the wealthy descendants of its ancient merchants, and possesses flourishing manufactures of linen and lace. The streets, houses, and churches, correspond with its ancient fame, and its exchange afforded the model for that of London. About A. D. 1550, its commerce was at its highest pitch, and the number of its inhabitants was computed at two hundred thousand. At present about fifty thousand are supposed to be all that remain of its ancient population.

Bruges was once a great emporium of trade. In this respect it was prior to Antwerp, and during a long time had the superiority over that city in commerce and wealth. But the war in which the Flemings engaged with their prince, the archduke Maximilian, A. D. 1482, having considerably affected its trade by occasioning obstructions to the navigation of Sluys, which was the port of Bruges, the inhabitants of Antwerp, and Amsterdam, taking advantage of the event, gradually gained a considerable share of the former trade of that mercantile city. Antwerp, especially, now began to acquire that commercial pre-eminence, which during more than a century it continued to maintain. The population of Bruges is now supposed not to exceed twenty thousand.

The next celebrated cities are Mons, Namur, and Luxembourg, more celebrated for their fortifications, than their commercial importance. The population of these may without any great inaccuracy be thus estimated: Mons, twenty-five thousand, Namur, twenty thousand, and Luxembourg twelve thousand.

Louvain was once famous for its woolen manufactures, and is still a large city; but of slender population. Ostend has of late been the principal port, and at times enjoyed a considerable trade. In general, it may be observed, that travellers are impressed with surprise both at the number and great extent of the Flemish cities, towns, and even villages; in which respect Belgium surpasses every country in Europe, except the seven United Provinces. The principal edifices are cathedrals, churches, and monasteries.

Unparalleled revolutions, and extraordinary events, have annihilated ancient boundaries, and converted not only the Netherlands, but all that portion of Germany, which lay west of the Rhine, into an integral part of the Gallic empire.

The aspect, soil, and climate, of these new acquisitions, nearly resemble the eastern parts of the Netherlands. Like them, also, they contain many fine cities, and fortified towns. Among these, Maestricht, and Mayence, are celebrated for strength, as are Liege and Aix la Chapelle, for amenity, and beauty. Liege is situated on several delightful eminences, on the banks of the Meuse, in the centre of a healthful and fertile country. While it remained under the dominion of its own bishop, who was a prince of the empire, the canonries and prebends were so rich, and the dignitaries so powerful, in consequence of possessing the right of electing their sovereign, that these circumstances, together with the number and opulence of the religious houses, and the amenity of its situation, obtained for it the name of the "Paradise of Priests." Since its annexation to France, it has lost its claim to this title; and numbers of its residents have experienced an unexpected reverse.

Aix la Chapelle is situated in a valley, almost entirely surrounded with hills. The buildings are good; and the nobility and gentry who resort to the Spa, passing and repassing, give to the town and its neighbourhood an animated appearance. The population of Liege may be estimated at thirty-five thousand; but a number perhaps somewhat less than thirty thousand may be assigned to that of Aix la Chapelle.

With these new and important acquisitions, France, in her present enlarged state, is the most compact sovereignty on the continent of Europe; and her boundaries the most exactly marked by the Pyrennees, the Alps, the Rhine, and the Ocean. The navigation of the Rhine, now free to the inhabitants of its right and left bank, affords to France an extensive inland trade; and many of the advantages enjoyed in maritime situations, without an exposure to the annoyance of naval war; a convenience similar to what would result to the United States from the formation of an inland canal nearly parallel to the Atlantic sea coast, through four inconsiderable necks of land, obviously perceptible on a map of the republic.

GENERAL HISTORY.

The history of Belgium, still more than its geography, requires to be treated separately from that of the country, within the boundaries of which, it is now included. This history, like that of all other nations, when traced beyond a certain period, is involved in impenetrable obscurity; but there is no doubt that the neighbouring parts of Germany first supplied Belgium with inhabitants. Our first knowledge of it is derived from the Romans, who gave it the name of Belgic Gaul, having found it inhabited by the Belgæ, a Scythian colony, who from Asia had progressively advanced through Germany, and at an unknown period had taken possession of this country with the maritime parts of Picardy

and Bretagne, and afterwards established themselves on the southern and south-eastern coasts of Great Britain.

The Roman dominion was loosely extended over this country, and their possession of it precarious, being constantly endangered by the inroads of the barbarous nations of Germany. After the irruption of the Franks from their ancient kingdom beyond the Rhine, Belgium formed a part of Neustria. In process of time it was divided into a number of petty states. Its history is equally obscure and uninteresting, till about the middle of the ninth century when the Earls of Flanders and Hainault began to rise into notice. About one hundred years later, the ducal family of Brabant first became conspicuous. The earliest mention of Antwerp is found in the year 517, when Theodoric expelled the Danes from that city; but from its little importance, its name was for a long time lost in obscurity. In the year 631 the province of Flanders was in some parts covered with swamps, and in others with extensive forests, when Clotaire bestowed its government on Lideric. He and his immediate successors were on that account styled Foresters of France.

The history of the Netherlands is of a nature essentially different from that of most other countries, being less a relation of the cabals of courts, and the operations of armies, than of the efforts of industry, and the progress of trade. Their grand contest for liberty, against the tyranny of Philip II. is the most important scene of warfare with which their annals are marked. Before the establishment of manufactures and commerce, the Netherlands were in the same state of poverty and ignorance as the rest of Europe. About the year 880, the walls of their houses were universally constructed either of hewn timber, or else made of intertwisted watlings or twigs, plastered over with clay. Manufactures began to be established at an early period; and soon became the basis of an extensive commerce. Of these, the woollen manufacture was the principal; and a very considerable part of the raw material was furnished by England; for the greater part of

the wool produced in that kingdom was exported to the Netherlands, where almost all the cloth for the consumption of Europe was manufactured. This was the basis of that immense wealth to which these countries attained. Of the different Belgic provinces, Flanders was the first that acquired importance by trade, and Ghent and Bruges were the towns first distinguished for power, population, and opulence. The famous Hanseatic league, had been formed A. D. 1140; and from the year 1262 may be dated the commencement of that immense commerce, by which the Netherlands acquired so great wealth and celebrity. At this time the iron, copper, corn, flax, timber, and other bulky commodities of the countries bordering on the Baltic, began to be introduced to the more southern nations of Europe; and their great utility caused an increased demand. But the mariner's compass not being then known, the direct voyage between the Baltic and the Mediterranean, in the course of one summer, was considered as both difficult and dangerous. A midway station, therefore, to which the traders from both seas might bring their respective merchandize was very desirable. Flanders by its geographical position was peculiarly adapted to serve as an entrepôt, or general market; and in addition to its local advantages, the perfection of its woollen manufactures rendered that country the most proper for such a purpose. The traders, therefore, of the Baltic ports brought to Bruges, the naval stores, and other commodities of the northern states. Those of Venice, Genoa, Pisa, &c. also carried cargoes of spices, drugs, fruit, cotton, silk, and a variety of other merchandize of Spain, Italy, and the Levant. Wool, lead, and tin from England; and wines, fruits, &c. from France, were brought thither as to a general warehouse for the reciprocal supply of all nations. This great commercial city, therefore, soon became the general magazine of merchandize for all Europe; and the country of Flanders in general, as well as Bruges, the focus of its trade, became extremely

rich and populous. Ghent also derived from this trade extraordinary advantages; but the opulence of these great cities rendered them exceedingly turbulent, and seditious. In the year 1322, the earl of Flanders attempting to remove the mart from Bruges to Sluys, the inhabitants of the former place revolted, seized their sovereign, and kept him during six months a prisoner. So great, indeed, was at this time the influence of the mercantile towns of Flanders, that the power of the earls was almost set aside. In the year 1325, the burgomasters of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, after having assisted the Scots in their wars against the English, concluded by their own authority a truce with England; and we find Edward II. negociating with the magistrates of Bruges, and not with the earls of Flanders. Three years afterwards, however, the power and pride of the Flemish cities, received a severe check. Having again rebelled against their earl, their confederate forces were defeated with the loss of above twenty thousand men. For some time they were more peaceable, but their factious and turbulent spirit yet remained unsubdued. The famous James d'Arteville, although only a brewer of Ghent, had so great an influence in Flanders, as to cause a general revolt of all the cities against the earl, who was obliged to seek refuge in France. The two great objects of apprehension to the Flemings in that age, were the power of France, and the danger of disobliging the English, from whom they received the greatest part of the wool, which supplied the vast crowds of their clothworkers in their numerous cities, towns, and villages, with the important materials of their manufacture.

The year 1369 constitutes an important period in the Belgic history. Philip duke of Burgundy, having espoused Margaret heiress of Flanders, united the whole Netherlands under his dominion. This caused a rupture between these provinces and England, in consequence of which Edward III. issued orders for seizing their shipping, wherever found

on the seas. The towns, however, of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, concluded a peace with that monarch, on the condition of their neutrality in the grand contest between France and England. The Ghentois, inflated with p osperity, rejected the authority of their prince, and openly aspired to independence. The English party was now triumphant under the management of Philip D'Arteville, who inheriting his father's wealth and influence, with a still greater share of ambition, assumed the functions of sovereignty. The city was in 1382, unsuccessfully besieged by the Earl, who was on this occasion assisted by the citizens of Bruges, the rival and mortal enemy of Ghent. These hostilities were attended with still farther consequences. Five thousand of the Ghentois, under the conduct of Philip D'Arteville, appeared before Bruges, from which city the Earl marched out to attack them with forty thousand of the citizens, and eight hundred of his own troops. That numerous body was repulsed by the inferior forces of the Ghentois, who, entering with the retreating Brugians, sacked the city, and killed one thousand two hundred of the principal citizens. By this success they brought over to their party all the towns of Flanders, except Oudenarde. The earl, having escaped from the defeat and slaughter of Bruges, was obliged to implore the assistance of France, while D'Arteville and the Ghentois solicited that of England. The Ghentois besieging Oudenarde, were attacked by the king of France at the head of sixty thousand disciplined troops, and routed with a dreadful slaughter. Philip D'Arteville, their commander, with forty thousand of their army, were slain, and the political influence of the English in Flanders was annihilated.

The commercial intercourse between that country and England was not liable to be destroyed by casual incidents. Their trade was originally established, and still subsisted, on the broad and firm basis of mutual interest, and reciprocal necessity. Although Edward III. had already established

a woollen manufactory, yet its advancement was slow. The English still found a profitable market in the Netherlands for their wool, and the Flemings were still under the necessity of procuring from them the material of their staple manufacture. This reciprocity of commercial interests continued till the woollen manufacture of England was equal to the quantity of wool produced, and began to rival that of the Netherlands; an event which did not take place till about the end of the reign of Elizabeth.

To its trade with England by means of the company of English merchants settled there, Antwerp first owed its rise to commercial eminence. Before that period A. D. 1446, "there were," says Wheeler, "but four merchants in the city of Antwerp, and only six vessels, merely for river navigation, they having then no maritime trade; but in a few years after the company's settling there, that city had a great number of ships belonging to it, whereby it was much enlarged and houses therein, which used to be let for forty or sixty dollars, were in the year 1601 let for three or four hundred, and some for eight hundred dollars yearly rent."* The rapid increase of Antwerp in extent and population, and the enormous wealth which that great mercantile city in the space of little more than a century acquired, together with its fall by the declension of its trade, exhibit among many other similar instances, the immense advantages resulting from a spirit of commercial enterprise.

Till about the middle of the fifteenth century, the two flourishing and rival cities of Bruges, and Ghent, continued to be the central points of the Netherland commerce. Bruges, especially, was the grand emporium, the half way storehouse, between the Baltic and the Mediterranean, for the merchandize of the northern and southern parts of Europe. So great was the trade of this celebrated mart, that in the

* Wheeler apud Anderson, vol. 1. p. 466.

year 1468 one hundred and fifty ships were seen arriving together at Sluys.

The art of pickling herrings, invented in the latter part of the fourteenth century, had, as well as their woollen manufacture, considerably contributed to enrich the Netherlands, and to give extension and vigour to their trade. The province of Flanders, which had hitherto been the focus of commerce, was now in the zenith of its prosperity; but in 1482, circumstances took place, which eventually led to the decline of its commercial greatness. In one of the military contests excited by the rivalship of the commercial cities in the Netherlands, the people of Bruges seized the person of the archduke Maximilian, and killed some of his principal ministers. The emperor Frederick, father of Maximilian, with the aid of the towns of Antwerp, and Amsterdam, whose inhabitants saw with jealous eyes the chief trade of the Netherlands centre in Bruges, blocked up the haven of Sluys; in consequence of which the commerce of Bruges was transferred to Antwerp. Amsterdam, at the same time, gained some share, and from that period gradually advanced in commercial importance.

Although Bruges and Ghent now felt a fatal decline of their commerce and wealth, their declension was gradual. Both these cities continued for a long time to make a respectable figure. Bruges in particular was famous for its goldsmith's wares, and other rich manufactures.

During the period in which trade was thus flourishing, the luxury of Flanders had been equal to its opulence; and that country, in the general diffusion of wealth, as well as in its high spirit of liberty, exhibited a state of society, very different from what was then seen in the neighbouring nations. So early as the commencement of the fourteenth century, when few of the streets of London and Paris were paved, and the houses throughout Europe were in general inexpressibly mean, Philip the fair, king of France, and his

queen, taking a journey into Flanders were astonished at the riches and magnificence of Bruges, and the luxury of dress displayed by its citizens. Her majesty, especially, on seeing how splendidly the ladies were decorated with jewels, and rich attire, exclaimed with a mixture of indignation and surprize, "I thought that I was the only queen here; but I find more than six hundred queens besides myself in this place." To this testimony of Guicciardini, may be added that of Philip de Commines of the 15th century, an historian of indisputable veracity, who says: "Although I have travelled over the best part of Europe, yet I never saw any country abound so much in riches, sumptuous buildings, vast expenses, feasts, and all kind of prodigality."

As luxury requires a variety of gratifications, and wealth affords the means of indulgence, the Flemings invented and improved a number of ornamental, as well as useful arts. The Flemish artists of those times, travelled into Italy, and brought back into the Netherlands a variety of improvements in architecture, painting, carving, and engraving on copper, which they and their scholars, travelling into different countries, diffused over all Europe. The Netherlanders attained to so high a pitch of maritime greatness, that about the year 1469, the duke of Burgundy's fleet was more formidable than that of any adjacent nation.

From the epoch of the ruin of the port of Sluys, and the removal of the great Flemish emporium from Bruges to Antwerp, the latter city became the focus of the Belgic trade, or rather of the whole commerce of Europe. One of the causes of its rapid progress, was the establishment of public fairs or marts, for trade, two of which continued for six weeks each. To these, merchants from all parts of Europe resorted with their different wares, free from customs, and in them vast commercial concerns were transacted with freedom and facility. But the circumstance, which most of all contributed to the sudden rise of Antwerp, was the discovery

of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope to India, by the Portuguese, who brought vast quantities of Oriental merchandize to that entrepot. This induced a great number of foreign merchants to settle at Antwerp. So rapid was its increase that, about the year 1514, the city was surrounded with a new and far more extensive wall. In 1531, the canal from thence to Brussels was commenced, although twenty-nine years elapsed before its completion. The same year, the celebrated Bourse or exchange of Antwerp, was built for the daily resort for the merchants of all nations. In 1543 that city received its third and last enlargement; and the new walls, built of fine hewn stone, were elegantly adorned. The population at that period amounted to about one hundred thousand. The year 1550 may be regarded as the epoch, when the prosperity of Antwerp was in its zenith. The strong and beautiful walls which had lately been built round the city enclosing a large space of ground for additional streets, three thousand houses had been erected on new foundations. As it was one of the principal cities of Europe in extent, and population, it was also the first perhaps in the world in respect to its trade and opulence.

To produce this important effect, various causes contributed, and at the period now under contemplation a singular concurrence of these may be observed. Mons. Huet, bishop of Avranches, remarks, that "the persecutions raised in Germany on account of religion in the reign of Charles V. in France under Henry II. and in England under queen Mary, forced many people to settle at Antwerp, it being then the most celebrated magazine of merchandize in Europe, if not in the whole world, it having been at this time a common thing to see two thousand five hundred ships in the Scheldt at one time laden with all sorts of merchandize." It is reasonable to presume that the greatest part of these ships, as they were called, were only of the size of coasters. The same observation must be kept in view, when we are told that four

hundred vessels often came up the Scheldt in one tide. Much of the trade of Antwerp was carried on in foreign bottoms. Guicciardini informs us, that the city of Antwerp contained thirteen thousand five hundred houses; that the number of foreign merchants, with their factors and servants, who constantly resided there, was not less than one thousand; that one of these, the famous Fugger of Augsburg, died worth six millions of crowns, an enormous sum in that age; and that many of the native inhabitants possessed property to the amount of from two hundred thousand to four hundred thousand crowns.* In this acme of its glory, Antwerp contained forty-two churches, twenty-two market places, with two hundred and twenty streets; and from the Scheldt, on which it stands in the form of a crescent, were cut eight fine canals, for conveying laden ships into the heart of the city. Antwerp thus rising on the decline of Bruges, advanced in the short space of a century to the greatest height of commercial prosperity, of which Europe had at that time furnished any example.

To the reader who delights in tracing the placid progress of commerce, rather than the sanguinary march of conquest, the history of the Netherlands until the middle of the sixteenth century, exhibits a scene peculiarly interesting and pleasing. The hostilities between the Ghentois and the Brugians, and afterwards between those cities, and their sovereign, of which the consequences have here been developed, are almost the only disagreeable feature which the picture displays, amidst a long continued series of progressive im-

* Of the wealth and generosity of Fugger, a memorable instance is recorded. Charles V. in order to defray the expenses of his expeditions against Tunis, had borrowed great sums of this celebrated merchant, who inviting that monarch to partake of an entertainment at his house, caused a fire to be made in his hall entirely of cinnamon, into which he threw all the emperor's bonds in his presence. And. Hist. com. vol. 2, p. 60.

provements. But here must be fixed the epoch, at which the prosperity of these provinces began to decline. The year 1550 is memorable for the rigorous edict of the emperor Charles V. against the protestants of the Netherlands, and for the establishment of several tribunals of inquisition, for their trial and punishment. The effects of this measure were immediately felt, in the terror and consternation, which began to appear amongst the merchants, and manufacturers, and the damp that it cast upon industry. Where the mind is not free, a lethargic apathy paralizes all human exertions. It was not, however, till the year 1567, that the pleasing picture of Belgic history was totally reversed. At that fatal period, the court of Spain resolving to adopt the most violent measures for the establishment of spiritual tyranny over a people who idolized their liberty, great and terrible consequences ensued. On the first report of the duke of Alva's approach at the head of ten thousand veteran troops, the manufacturers and traders began to retire from the Netherlands in such numbers, that the duchess of Parma, who then governed those provinces, complained in her dispatches to Spain of the emigration of above one hundred thousand persons, who in a very short space of time had left the country and withdrawn both their money and goods. These being daily followed by others, that princess, foreseeing the impending ruin, resigned her government, in order to avoid being a spectator of those evils, which she could not prevent. She was succeeded by the duke of Alva, whose sanguinary proceedings, in revenge of the past insurrections, and in support of the newly established inquisition, eventually lost to Spain a great part of the Netherlands, and sapped the foundations of her strength.

One of the first measures of this tyrannical governor, was the seizure of the counts Egmont and Horn, a step which was quickly followed by their execution. Both these noblemen were catholics, and in their fate the protestants might clearly see how little mercy they had to expect. The conduct

of the duke of Alva justified their apprehensions; and such numbers emigrated, that France, Germany, and England were crowded with those industrious people, who sought an asylum from civil and religious tyranny, and carried into those countries arts and manufactures, before known only in the Netherlands. From this epoch may be dated the fall of the Flemish manufactures, and the rise of those of England, and France. On the whole, it appears, that civil and religious liberty, with a free commerce, and protected manufactories, are the sources of public and private prosperity; and that as the two first of these eminently exist in the United States, a career of national happiness may be reasonably expected by their citizens if due attention is paid to the promotion of the last.

The leading events and final issue of the memorable contest between the duke of Alva and the Netherlands, will be exhibited in our view of the seven United Provinces, now the kingdom of Holland, to the history of which it properly belongs. In this place it is sufficient to notice such events, as took place in the provinces now under review, and the effects they produced on their political and commercial system. One of the most remarkable of those transactions is the memorable sack of Antwerp by the mutinous garrison. This was the first direct attack on the commerce and wealth of this celebrated city, and a fatal prelude of the calamitous events that ensued nine years afterwards.

The duke d'Alva, perceiving that his sanguinary measures had completely exasperated the people of the Netherlands against his person and government, petitioned to be recalled. To his eternal disgrace, he retired from his government, with the inhuman boast, that in the space of five years, he had caused eighteen thousand heretics to fall by the hand of the executioner. He might have added, that he had done an irreparable injury to his country, and paved the way for the decline of the Spanish monarchy. Alva was succeeded by Requesens, a man of a mild and conciliating disposition. The

first measure of his government was the destruction of the insulting statue of his predecessor, erected at Antwerp. No act could have been more popular; but Alva's tyrannical conduct had rendered all conciliatory measures ineffectual. The revolted provinces of Holland and Zealand, smarting under injuries, too recent and too grievous to be soon forgotten, persisted in their determination of not returning under the obedience of Spain; and the war was continued for some time with various success. But the superiority of the Spaniards in numbers and military skill, at length turned the scale in their favour, and the infant republic was on the verge of ruin, when an atrocious outrage re-united all the provinces in one common cause.

Large arrears had been due for some time to the Spanish soldiers, who began to be clamorous for payment; and the sudden death of Requesens, the governor, at that critical juncture, increased the mutinous spirit which prevailed among them. The troops quartered at Alost, casting off all subordination, marched to Antwerp; where, being joined by the garrison of the citadel, this formidable body of mutineers, consisting of nearly six thousand men, most of them Italians, bold, licentious, and desperate, plundered in the most merciless manner, the richest city in Europe, and made a terrible slaughter of seven thousand of its inhabitants.*

The other cities being threatened with a similar fate, their common danger united all, except Luxembourg, in a general confederacy, denominated the pacification of Ghent; which had for its object the expulsion of foreign troops, and the restoration of the ancient constitution.

Don John, of Austria, appointed successor to Requesens, now arrived in the Netherlands, where he found every thing in confusion. He saw the union of the provinces too firmly consolidated to be easily dissolved, and was sensible of the necessity of conciliation, where conquest was impracticable.

* For a circumstantial account of this terrible transaction, the reader is referred to Watson's Hist. of Philip II.

He, therefore, agreed to the pacification of Ghent, and the dismissal of the Spanish army; in consequence of which concessions, he was acknowledged the king of Spain's lieutenant, and governor of the Netherlands. Peace and concord were restored, industry renewed, and commerce began to raise her head, and dispense her blessings. But this tranquil state of things did not coincide with the ambitious views of Don John; who, remembering the laurels which he had gained at Lepanto, revolved in his mind vast projects. Seeing the Belgic states determined to impose strict limitations on his authority, he broke through the articles of the pacification, seized Namur, and procured the recall of the Spanish troops. Incited by ambition, and animated by his former successes, he thus lighted anew the flames of civil war, and looking beyond the conquest of the revolted provinces, projected a marriage with the queen of Scots, and the acquisition of the two British kingdoms. Queen Elizabeth, penetrating his designs, now openly espoused the cause of the Flemings, and afforded them her protection. She sent them a sum of money, and soon afterwards a body of troops. Prince Casimir, count Palatine of the Rhine, also engaged in their support, and collected a body of troops for that purpose. Thus every prospect of tranquillity vanished, and the ambition of Don John of Austria, renewed the calamities which the tyranny of Alva had first introduced.

The Netherlanders, although strengthened by foreign alliances, were weakened by internal dissentions. The cause of liberty was greatly injured by the jealousies which existed between the catholics and the protestants. The prince of Orange, who had been elected governor of Brabant, was, on account of his moderation, suspected by both parties. In the mean while, Don John defeated the army of the states at Gemblours, and made himself master of several important places. But being worsted at Riemenant, and seeing little prospect of success against the numerous armies opposed to him, the chagrin of disappointed ambition is supposed to have

occasioned his death. He died unexpectedly in the flower of his age, while revolving vast projects, and was succeeded by Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, who became the most celebrated general of his age.

The jealousies of the confederates, in the mean while, clogged all their measures. The duke of Anjou, and prince Casimir, were at the head of two considerable armies, but both of them equally useless to the states. The protestants were jealous of the former, the catholics of the latter; and the commanders were jealous of each other. This religious and political discordance, induced William, prince of Orange, to project the scheme of the union of the seven provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friezland, Overyssel, Groningen, and Guelderland; a measure which was completed at Utrecht, on the 15th of January, 1579. From that memorable epoch, must be dated the commencement of the Dutch or Batavian republic, the history of which, hitherto involved in that of the Netherlands in general, begins now to form a distinct article, which will be treated in its proper place.

In consequence of this union of the seven provinces, and their assumption of independence, the court of Spain set a price on the head of the prince of Orange, and a desperado soon made an attempt on his life, for the sake of obtaining the reward. The joy of the Spaniards, on a false report of his death, could be equalled only by that of the Flemings, when assured of his safety. The states were now more than ever, sensible of the value of that great man. In the progress of the contest, the duke of Parma, and the prince of Orange, the two most skilful commanders of the age, were left to contend for the possession of the Netherlands; which, from being the peaceful seat of industry and commerce, now became the great military school of Europe, and men of courage from all nations resorted thither to pursue the profession of arms.

The duke of Parma was far superior to his predecessor, both in negociation and war. With views less romantic, and

plans equally vast, he remedied, as far as was possible, the mismanagement of his predecessors; and to his courage and conduct, Spain was indebted for the preservation of the most valuable part of her Belgic dominions. He took the city of Maestricht, by assault, concluded a treaty with the southern provinces, gained the confidence of the catholic party in general, and by his clemency and address, gave a new turn to affairs. Having reduced Brussels and Ghent, he advanced towards Antwerp, and made vast preparations for the siege of that large and opulent city. On his approach, the inhabitants opened the sluices, broke down the dykes, and buried the adjacent country under a wide spreading inundation, which swept away his magazines. Possessing a genius fertile in expedients, with prodigious labour and expense, but with astonishing expedition, he caused a canal to be cut, to carry off the waters which inundated the country; and erected that stupendous monument of his military genius, a fortified bridge across the wide and deep estuary of the Scheldt, to prevent all communication between the town and the sea. The inhabitants of Antwerp attempted to blow it up, by sending against it fire-ships, filled with powder and other combustibles; but perceiving the failure of their schemes, they at last agreed to surrender the city by capitulation, and to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Spanish monarch. This event happened A. D. 1585, and was rendered fatally memorable by the avarice and cruelty of the conquerors. The Spanish and Italian troops, of whom the duke of Parma's army was composed, not less ferocious in victory, than courageous in combat, casting off all restraint, and defying all authority, plundered the city for the space of three days. The booty was estimated at more than two millions of pistoles, and an immense quantity of rich merchandize and furniture was destroyed by fire. Near three thousand of the inhabitants are supposed to have fallen by the sword; about fifteen hundred perished in the flames, or were trampled to death; and as many were drowned in the Scheldt. Before

this memorable catastrophe, Antwerp is said to have been the most opulent city in the world. Its capture and pillage gave the finishing blow to the trade of those provinces, which have since been known by the name of the Austrian Netherlands. The principal manufacturers and traders removed to other parts. England and Germany were enriched by a valuable accession of skilful and industrious subjects; but Holland, above all other countries, profited by this event; and Amsterdam, which, next to Antwerp, was already the chief trading city of the Netherlands, received a vast increase of wealth and population. We are informed that no less than nineteen thousand persons at once, emigrated from Antwerp into Holland, and most of them to Amsterdam. The principal merchants also of Antwerp removed with their effects, and settled in that city, which now became a great emporium of trade. Thus Antwerp was stripped of its wealth and prosperity, while arts, ingenuity, commerce, and industry, crowded into Amsterdam, with a rapidity of which history affords few parallel instances. Domestic jealousy, and the rivalry of commerce, scarcely less than the valor of the Spaniards, and the military skill of their general, contributed to the downfall of that flourishing city. The Hollanders, especially those of Amsterdam, hoped to profit by its reduction; rightly judging that all the protestants would leave it, as soon as it should fall into the hands of the Spaniards: and, actuated by this narrow policy, they constantly obstructed every measure proposed for its relief. After its ruin was accomplished, the same policy rendered it irretrievable. The Hollanders sunk in the Scheldt a number of vessels laden with stones, in order to obstruct its navigation for vessels of considerable burden, and erected forts on the opposite bank, which entirely commanded that river, and cut off all communication between Antwerp and the sea. This system has been overthrown by Napoleon, who, having conquered the whole country, has reopened the Scheldt, and is exerting his great powers to restore the trade of Antwerp.

In this view of the Netherlands, we have had an opportunity of contemplating an interesting portion of commercial history. We have seen the effects of the bigotry and tyranny of Philip II.; of the cruelty of Alva; of the ambition of Don John of Austria, and of the valor and prudence of Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, as well as those of the mutual jealousies of the Belgic states, and the rivalship of their commercial cities. And it may here be observed, that the mismanagement of Spain caused her the loss of a considerable part of the Netherlands, and the impoverishment of the rest; while the jealousies and narrow politics of those provinces, prevented them from forming the whole into one permanent and powerful confederacy. The remaining part of this portion of history, now becomes less important. Except the seven United Provinces, the countries in their impoverished state, continued under the dominion of Spain, till the reign of Louis XIV. when a considerable part of them was conquered by France; and at the peace concluded at Aix la Chapelle, in 1668, was confirmed to that crown. The rest remained, until the late revolution, an appendage of Austria.

The provinces now under consideration, have afforded ample narratives of campaigns and martial exploits. Belgium, instead of being as formerly, the seat of commerce, has, during the space of a century and a half, been frequently the theatre of war, and the grave of Frenchmen, Spaniards, Englishmen, and Germans, who resorted thither, not indeed like their ancestors, in the character of merchants, but as military adventurers, in quest of promotion and glory. The war of the Spanish succession, so vigorously carried on under the conduct of those celebrated generals, prince Eugene, and the duke of Marlborough, transferred these provinces to the house of Austria. In the war of 1741, they were all, except Luxembourg, conquered by France, but restored at the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, A. D. 1748.

In the year 1789, a revolution happened in Belgium, which threatened the annihilation of the sovereignty of Austria over

that country. An unprecedented stretch of prerogative, was the cause of the dispute, and the emperor used force for the assertion of his claims. The Brabanters hereupon immediately flew to arms, and soon collected a considerable force. A proclamation, issued by count Trautmansdorff, the governor, directed that no quarter should be given to the insurgents, and that the villages in which they concealed themselves, should be set on fire. General Dalton, with an army of seven thousand men, marched to retake the forts which the revolters had seized, proclaiming his intention of carrying them by assault, and of putting every soul to the sword. In opposition to this sanguinary proclamation, the insurgents, who now assumed the name of patriots, published a manifesto, dated at Hoosgtraten, in Brabant, 24th October, 1789, in which they declared that the emperor had, by his infringement of the constitution, and by various acts of oppression, forfeited his right of sovereignty. The citizens were exhorted to arm in defence of their country; strict orders were issued against plundering; and banishment was denounced against all who adhered to the emperor. No event recorded in history, exhibits an example of a more determined resolution, or a more dauntless courage than was exhibited by the Belgians on this trying occasion. Almost every town showed its determination to resist the imperial court; and all ranks of men, and even of women, displayed the most enthusiastic attachment to their country. The ecclesiastics, whose revenues and power the emperor had considerably diminished, gave unequivocal proofs of their patriotism and courage. A formidable army was raised, and the insurgents made themselves masters of Ostend, Bruges, Tournay, Mechlin, and Ghent, while general Dalton was obliged to retire to Brussels. A battle was fought before the city of Ghent, in which the patriots were victorious, although with the loss of about one thousand men. The insurrection of this period is not more distinguished by the determined resolution and valor of the Belgians, than by the savage cruelty of the imperial troops.

No example is found in history, of greater inhumanity than that which this civil war exhibited; and which, considering the humane character of the emperor, appears almost incredible. Orders were given to plunder and destroy without mercy,and neither women nor infants were spared. By these monstrous cruelties, the Austrians insured success to the patriots. The whole of Brabant, Flanders, and Maestricht, unanimously declared in their favour, and published a memorial for their justification; in which, after a long enumeration of their reasons for taking up arms, they made use of these remarkable words, which ought ever to be sounded in the ears of tyrants. "The natural courage of a nation, roused by repeated injuries, and animated by despair, will rise superior to those last efforts of vindictive tyranny, and render them as impotent and abortive as they are wicked and unexampled." This memorial concluded by declaring Belgium for ever independent of the house of Austria.

The independence of that country appeared now to exist in fact as well as in words; but the death of the emperor Joseph II. at this critical juncture, gave an unexpected turn to the state of affairs. The prudence and pacific disposition of Leopold, his successor, and the conciliatory measures which he adopted, together with the mediation of Great Britain, Holland, and Prussia, effected a reconciliation with the Belgic provinces, and their re-union with the house of Austria.

By a treaty concluded on the 27th of July, 1790, tranquillity was restored in the Belgic provinces, the sovereignty of which was guaranteed to the emperor by the three mediating powers. But the revolution of France immediately following, annihilated this treaty, and rendered the guarantee ineffectual. The conquest of these provinces by the French, and their final cession to the republic, at the treaty of Campo Formio, have, for the sake of uniformity, been related in the history of France, to which these transactions properly belong.

The religion of this fertile and once famous country, is the Roman Catholic, to which the people appear zealously attached.

Of their commerce, little can be said at present; its revival, in some degree, may, from the new state of things, be expected.

The Belgic manufactures, following the fate of their foreign trade, have undergone a total decline. A few fragments, however, remain. The principal are those of tapestry, fine linen, and lace, carried on chiefly at Brussels, Antwerp, Mechlin, Louvain, and Ghent, which encourage the cultivation of flax, even on the poorest soils, and enrich all the country around. Their agriculture, which has been celebrated during the space of five or six centuries, is but little, if any thing impaired, and is still equal to that of any country in Europe.

The language is a mixture of the high and low Dutch, but it remains uncultivated, and its use is in a great measure abandoned to the common people. Their principal authors have written in Latin or French, and the latter is the general language of people of fashion.

Belgium, being converted to Christianity in the seventh century, has some pretensions to early literature, in various chronicles, and lives of saints; but in latter times it has produced few eminent writers. Froissart, a native of Valenciennes, and Philip de Commines, so named from the place of his birth, about eight miles north of Lisle, are excellent historians. Lipsius, a man of extensive erudition, was born in the neighbourhood of Brussels.

The Belgic territory contained four universities, Tournay, Douay, St. Omers, and Louvain. The three last were noted for the education of English Catholics; that of Louvain, however, formerly possessed the greatest celebrity, and was once equally distinguished for its numerous students and illustrious professors. But since the recent revolutions, we

have little knowledge of these matters. The college at St. Omers no longer exists as a place of education.

The manners of the Belgians are a mixture of those of Holland and Spain.

TURKEY IN EUROPE.

TURKEY in Europe is an extensive country, occupying the south-eastern part of the European continent. Its general boundaries are, the territories of Russia and Austria, to the north; the Adriatic and Mediterranean to the west; the Mediterranean to the south; and the Archipelago, the sea of Marmora, and the Black sea, to the east. It lies between the latitudes 36° 40′, and 48° 20′.

The climate of Turkey is such, as might be expected from its southern latitude, combined with the elevation of its mountainous surface: subject in many parts to considerable cold; but upon the whole soft and warm, pure and salubrious. No region is more favourable to human life, or (if we may judge from former examples) more happily tempered to the perfection of the mental and bodily constitution of man. Its natural and cultivated products are those of the southern part of the temperate zone. Of the farinaceous grains, its different soils yield in abundance, the wheat and barley of the northern, and the maize and rice of the southern countries. Vines, olives, fruits, and all garden vegetables, are excellent in their kinds; and though the soil is frequently light and scanty, there is no want of fertility, where industry does its part. Among domestic animals, the Turkish horses support the reputation of those of Greece and Thrace in ancient times. The sheep of Walachia are remarkable for their spiral horns. The extensive plains on the Danube, and other rivers, rear numbers of fine cattle.

No part of the globe affords so melancholy a comparison between its ancient and modern state, as that, which constitutes the Turkish dominion; especially the European portion of it. The fame of ancient Greece is the most splendid chap-

ter in history. Its proficiency, in every pursuit that dignifies the human faculties, has excited the wonder and admiration of every succeeding age, and country. Greece yielded to the Roman arms, but still retained a strong tincture of its ancient genius, and mental cultivation; and the establishment of an eastern Roman empire at Constantinople, shed a lustre on its declining days.

The population of these countries is derived from many different races. The northern provinces have a large infusion of Sarmatian or Slavonian blood, together with the original Scythian, or Thracian stock. Considerable remains of the Roman settlers of Dacia, are discoverable by their language and manners. The descendants of the Greeks are the chief inhabitants of the southern parts, where they preserve a dialect of their ancient noble language; not more corrupted than the Latin is, in the Italian. They retain also, the gaiety and sprightliness of their ancestors; but their manners are debased by the servility and dissimulation, which have been produced by a long endurance of oppression and tyranny. The Turks themselves, the lords of the rest, are a mixed race, whose Tartarian blood has been gradually diluted by intermarriages with the fine women of Georgia and Circassia, and the multitude of female captives and slaves of the surrounding countries, who have fallen into their hands. They are now, for the most part, a handsome and stately race of men, grave, sedate, and solemn, rendered haughty by ignorance, and indolent by want of employment.

In reviewing European Turkey, the philosophical reader must regard it as a matter of surprise and regret, that the interior geography of these classical regions should be so imperfectly known, and that countries, which had so conspicuous a place in the annals of the world, and of which the ancient history constitutes so important a part of our early studies, should be so little frequented by modern travellers.

The ancient monuments of European Turkey are, as might be supposed, both numerous, and important; but miserably

dilapidated through the barbarism of the Turks, whose only occupation is to destroy. The most remarkable are the remains of ancient Athens, which serve to excite a melancholy recollection of her former glory. Among these, the ruins of the magnificent temple of Minerva have attracted the attention of many travellers. The most concise description of the remains of antiquity to be seen at Constantinople, and in other parts of European Turkey, would require a separate volume. Greece, the adjacent islands, Macedonia and Constantinople, may be regarded as a contiued series of curiosities. The scientific and literary traveller cannot survey those classical countries, the cradle or at least the nursery of those arts and sciences, which now give to Europe her proud pre-eminence over Asia and Africa, without the most lively emotions. Imagination calls up the venerable shades of those heroes, philosophers, poets and orators, whose names are so justly celebrated, and presents to the mental eye an interesting picture of the scenes of history, the discoveries of science, and the effects of art.

Constantinople, the metropolis of the Ottoman empire, is situated on the European side of the Bosphorus, in 41° north latitude, and 28° 58′ east longitude. The appearance of this capital is the most magnificent that can be conceived. Rising like an amphitheatre, the buildings appear in regular gradations one above another, and the whole city, with its splendid mosques and minarets, presents itself at once to the view. The situation, indeed, is esteemed the finest in Europe, or even in the world. But the stranger, who on his approach is struck with the magnificent and imposing prospect of Constantinople, finds his expectations greatly disappointed on entering the city. The streets are, in general, narrow and unpaved, filled with dust and mud, and the houses are small and mean. On the whole, the interior of Constantinople has a melancholy appearance, except in the parts devoted to commerce, where all is a scene of bustle and business. The slave market is a large court or square, surrounded by porticoes,

where that sex, which is so respectfully treated in the United States, is subjected to the indignity of being bought and sold like cattle. The greatest part of the females exposed to sale in this market, are natives of Circassia, and the neighbouring countries, and most of them sold into slavery by their unnatural parents or their avaricious and tyrannical rulers. These, with others, whom various circumstances have reduced to this situation, supply the seraglios of the Turkish grandees. Constantinople abounds with antiquities, and remains of ancient edifices; but almost all these monuments of former magnificence are miserably disfigured and dilapidated.

The population of Constantinople, including the suburbs, is supposed to amount to about four hundred thousand. Of these about two hundred thousand are Turks, one hundred thousand Greeks, and the rest Jews, Armenians and Franks.

Constantinople was built by Constantine the great, who removed the imperial residence thither from Rome. It became afterwards the capital of the eastern empire, and was long the most magnificent and splendid city in the world; the great theatre of learning, of commerce and wealth, when almost all the rest of Europe was plunged in ignorance, and barbarism. But its splendor was greatly diminished on its capture by the Latins in 1204, and, at length, totally obscured by its subjection to the Ottomans. Its trade, however, is yet considerable, although a great part of it is carried on by foreigners.

The second city of European Turkey is Adrianople, situated about one hundred and forty miles to the north west of Constantinople. The town is of a circular form, and about two miles in circumference. The streets are narrow, and crooked, but many of the houses are large, and well built, and several of the mosques are magnificent. Adrianople was founded by the emperor Adrian, on the site of the ancient Orestias. In the fourteenth century it was taken by Sultan Amurath I. and, until the fall of Constantinople, was the capital of the Ottoman dominions.

Athens, the celebrated theatre of heroism, of eloquence, of philosophy and literature, is now little better than a large village; and ancient Greece, which was formerly crowded with cities, scarcely contains a single town, that from its modern importance, is worthy of geographical commemoration.

Here are no splendid villas, or palaces, such as are seen in most countries of Christianity. The finest buildings are the mosques, which have for the most part been Christian churches.

ISLANDS.

The Grecian islands are of equal celebrity with the continent. The principal in regard to extent is Candia, the ancient Crete, which is the most famous as well as the most extensive, and in every respect, the most important of all the Grecian isles. This classical island is about one hundred and ninety miles in length, by an irregular breadth, which varies from forty to twenty miles. The face of the country is in general mountainous. The celebrated mount Ida occupies almost all the middle of the island, two thirds of which indeed consist of little more than mountains, of which some are perpetually covered with snow. The vallies, however, are extremely fertile, and the island produces grain, fruits, and timber, in abundance. The wheat is of the finest sort, and the wines are exquisite. The climate is hot, but the air is pure and salubrious, except when the south wind blows, which is dangerous, and sometimes suffocates people in the open fields. The waters of Candia are exceedingly pure and wholesome; and although it has no rivers, it is irrigated by numberless springs and rivulets. Upon the whole, this island appears formed by nature for a desirable place of abode; but Turkish despotism and the ignorance of the modern Greeks, counteract her intentions. Marble is so plentiful, that most of the villages are built of that material in its rough state, as hewn from the

quarry. The horses are small, but active and spirited. Constant exercise in climbing and descending the mountains renders them amazingly sure footed. In the most frightful descents, which are very frequent, in this island, they never make a false step, if left to their own guidance. The Greek and Turkish ladies always travel on horseback, as in this rugged and precipitous country no carriages can be used; and accidents scarcely ever happen from the stumbling of their horses. The inhabitants of Candia, both Turks and Greeks, are tall, robust and vigorous. From the earliest ages, they were famed for their skill in the use of the bow, and the Cretan archers contributed greatly to the safe retreat of the ten thousand Greeks. Ancient history, indeed, affords numerous instances of the signal services rendered by the Cretan bow-men and slingers.* They excelled also in other manly exercises, and were not less famed for their genius and mental powers. But although this island was the cradle of Grecian legislation, the Cretans were always remarked for their unprincipled conduct and profligate morals.†

Candia abounds in relics of antiquity, but they are all in a state of extreme dilapidation. The peasant drives his plough, and the shepherd feeds his sheep among the wrecks of antiquity, consisting of marbles, jasper and granites, wrought with exquisite art. Antique columns, fragments of sculpture, and other relics of ancient art and splendor, are dispersed in every part of the island, and often blended among mean and rude materials in the construction of modern buildings. But these dilapidations are common in every part of the Turkish dominions, and exhibit a striking contrast between the ancient glory, and the present degradation of those celebrated countries.

Candia or Crete is famous in the history and mythology of ancient Greece. Here, the poets have fixed the birth place of Jupiter, and most of the Grecian gods; because probably

* Livy, lib. 37 and 38. † St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.

in this island they were first known, and worshipped, with the ceremonies afterwards used by the Greeks in their temples. Situated at a convenient distance from Egypt and Phœnicia, it had undoubtedly been peopled by colonies from these countries, and consequently was the first corner of Europe in which the rudiments of civilization appeared. Ancient history obscurely presents to our view the venerable shade of Minos, its king, to whom the Cretans owed most of their advantages. Through the gloomy mist of remote antiquity, we may discover him to have been one of those superior minds which are destined to improve the human race. He framed a system of government, and a code of laws, which served as the model and ground work of Grecian legislation. Lycurgus studied the science of civil polity in visiting Egypt and Crete, and appears to have taken the Cretan constitution as a model for that of Sparta. But it was not only for the arts of internal polity, that the Cretans were famous; they were equally formidable in arms. They cleared the Grecian seas from the depredations of pirates; they subdued several of the neighbouring islands; humbled some of the maritime states on the continent; and were victorious over Athens, then in its infancy. So long as Greece flourished, Crete as a friend or an enemy, is conspicuous in her history; and after being drawn into the vortex of her principal revolutions, is ultimately involved in her fate. On the fall of the Byzantine empire, this island was seized by the Venetians, under whom it again flourished, and became the seat of a valuable commerce. The siege of Candia, its capital, which with some short intervals continued the space of twenty-four years, from 1646 to 1670, has rendered this island not less famous in modern than in ancient history.

It would be both useless and tedious to enter into a particular description of all the different islands of the Grecian Archipelago. Though mostly of a diminutive extent, and of little modern importance; yet, few of them are without some share of historical fame, and some remains of antiqui-

ty. It will therefore suffice to mention a few of the most remarkable.

Stalimene, the ancient Lemnos, is fruitful in corn and wine, but chiefly remarkable for a mineral earth used in medicine, and called terra lemnia, or terra sigillata. The Turks derive from it a considerable revenue.

Patmos is a dry and barren rock. In this island is the cave in which St. John is supposed to have written the Apocalypse.

Paros, about thirty-six miles in circuit, is famous for its excellent marble. From this island we derive the noblest monuments of chronology in the world, the Parian or Arundelian marbles, which comprise a period of 1318 years, beginning from the reign of Cecrops the first king of Athens.

Antiparos is about sixteen miles in circuit, and is divided from Paros by a strait of about a mile in breadth. This island is of little importance, but it contains one of the most singular curiosities that nature has formed. This is the wonderful grotto or cavern so minutely described by two eminent travellers.* It is situated in the southern part of the island at the distance of almost two miles from the sea. The entrance presents a rugged cavern, about thirty paces wide, and vaulted in a kind of arch with some ancient inscriptions greatly defaced. After proceeding about twenty paces, the traveller, by the help of a rope, descends a frightful precipice, from which he soon proceeds to another still more terrible. Here the descent is by a ladder placed on the side of tremendous abyssess. A third precipice conducts to a rocky and difficult path, that leads to the stupenduous cavern, which is supposed to be 300 yards below the surface of the ground, and consequently far below the level of the sea. The grotto is about eighty yards high, and a hundred wide. The top, the bottom, and the sides, are all of marble, which, except a few pieces of a brownish kind, is of the most dazzling whiteness. The roof is a natural arch, from which the stalactitic

* Tournefort, and lady Craven.

marble hangs in the most picturesque and elegant forms. At the bottom are also various stems or pillars of marble, particularly a pyramid twenty-four feet high, and elegantly adorned with chapiters, bunches in the shape of cauliflowers, &c. as if it had been the work of a sculptor. M. de Nointel, ambassador of Louis XIV. to the Porte, accompanied by above five hundred persons of various descriptions, passed three days at Christmas, 1673, in this subterranean recess.

In regard to classical fame, none of the Grecian Islands holds a higher rank than Delos, which being only a rock of eight or nine miles in circumference, derived from superstition all its importance, and splendor. Here, the Grecian mythology fixed the birth place of Apollo and Diana, and Delos was consecrated to these divinities. Here, too, was erected the temple of Apollo, which, through the piety of the Greeks, became one of the most magnificent in the ancient world. Devotion proved the source of opulence and splendor. The superb city of Delos covered almost the whole island, and exhibited a spectacle of exquisite magnificence. The cities of Greece deputed their priests to offer sacrifices in the temple of the Delian Apollo. This supposed deity has long ago lost his influence. A few scattered fragments of marble, &c. are all that remain of his magnificent temple and city. The celebrated and sacred Delos, devested of its imaginary greatness, is sunk into its native insignificance, and left without inhabitants. The ancient state of Delos may be regarded as one of those numerous articles in the history of the world, which strikingly display the power of superstition.

European Turkey comprises a number of ancient kingdoms, and republics; and besides the grand distinction of Greeks and Turks, its inhabitants must be considered as an assemblage of various nations, which in process of time, and by repeated conquests, were united under the Roman dominion, and remained subject to the Eastern empire, until its subversion by the Ottomans. These revolutions are else-

where related, and are here passed over, as our present object is the history of the same country under the dominion of the Turks. Our first inquiry is in regard to the origin of these conquerors, and the means by which they became masters of ancient Greece, and the eastern empire of the Romans.

HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE TURKS.

The origin of the Turks is traced from the eastern and northern shores of the Caspian sea. The number of tribes, which were included in that appellation, is unknown. Nothing is more obscure than the history of the Scythians, Tartars and Turks. Nothing more difficult, than to trace their migrations, unions, separations, divisions, and conversions into each other, by changes of names and residence. The appellation of Turks was first known about the middle of the sixth century, when that people had founded a state in the Altay mountains along the banks of the Irtish, and acted the part of powerful allies to Heraclius, the eastern emperor, in his war with the Persians. Before the end of that century, however, this Turkish state was separated into two distinct parts, and afterwards dissolved into several petty khannates. In the tenth century, two of the Turkish tribes, the Seljukians and the Turcomans, became formidable, and obtained a place in history. In the progress of revolutions, the Turcomans elected Togrul, the grandson of Seljuk, for their king. Thus was laid the foundation of the Seljukian dynasty. Togrul was succeeded by Alp Arslan his nephew. This prince carried his victorious arms into Asia Minor, but was afterwards murdered on his throne. He achieved the conquest of Armenia, and Georgia, and was succeeded by his kinsman, Malek Shah, who was one of the greatest princes of his age, and extended the empire of the Turks to the Chinese frontier, and

from thence to the Bosphorus of Constantinople, and the extremities of Arabia. In peace and war, he was always in action, and is said to have gone over his extensive dominions no less than nine times. Perhaps there may be some exaggeration in the Arabian writers, but when their relations are reduced to the standard of reason and fact, it appears, that these four Turkish monarchs, Mahmood the Gaznavide, and the Seljukian Togrul, Alp Arslan, and Malek Shah, are worthy of being ranked with the heroes of antiquity.

In the person of Malek Shah, the unity and greatness of the Turkish empire expired; and three centuries elapsed before its splendor revived. On his death, which happened in 1092, the vacant throne was disputed by his four sons, and his brother, and a series of civil wars produced a lasting division of the Seljukian monarchy. Three younger dynasties arose, which were those of Herman, Syria, and Roum. The Seljukian or Turkish empire, now divided into different branches, underwent various subdivisions and successive revolutions. Thus, the empire of the Turks was twice established in Asia, and was twice dissolved by divisions and intestine commotions. Asia Minor and Syria were subsequently governed by a variety of sultans, engaged in almost perpetual hostilities, rising on one another's ruins, and extending their dominions at one another's expense. Their declining empire appeared to be verging to its final dissolution, when its stability was ensured, and its glory retrieved by the famous Othman, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. The Seljukian dynasty had been subverted by the Mongols, successors of Zinghis Khan. The fragments of the monarchy were disputed by a number of princes or emirs, but all of them acknowledged the supreme authority of Geladdin, sultan of Karisme. His death dissolved a veteran and victorious army, which, under the name of Karismians, comprised many Turkish hordes. Several of these military adventurers engaged in the service of the sultan of Iconium, one of the Turkish princes of Asia Minor. Among these was Orthogrul the father of Othman,

the founder of a new monarchy, which became more formidable, and more famous than any which the Turks had before established. The Seljukian dynasty was no more : the vast empire of the Mongols was split into numerous hostile states, and its dissolution opened a prospect to new adventurers. These circumstances were favourable to the views of Othman. He stood on the verge of the Greek empire. Its declining and debilitated state offered him an easy conquest especially of its Asiatic provinces. In the year 1299, he invaded the province of Nicomedia; and during a reign of twenty-seven years, his forces were multiplied in every campaign by the accession of volunteers and captives. After age and infirmities had incapacitated him for action, he had the satisfaction of receiving intelligence of the capture of Prusa by Orchan his son, and successor. From the conquest of Prusa in 1326, may be dated the commencement of the Ottoman empire. Orchan, after his accession to the throne, new modelled his army—procured a train of battering engines—and reduced to obedience the cities of Nice and Nicomedia with the whole country of Bythinia. He was succeeded by his son, Amurath I. The details of the Turkish history during more than a century, are obscure; but the progress of this people was rapid and their conquests conspicuous. Amurath subdued the whole country of Romania or Thrace, and made Adrianople his capital. Constantinople, which had often been assaulted by the barbarians, and had as often repelled their attacks, now saw her contracted territory surrounded by the dominions of a hostile monarchy. The Bulgarians, the Servians, the Bosnians, and the Albanians, who had so often insulted the majesty, and defied the power of the Greek empire, were wholly or partially subdued by Amurath, who, by a prudent institution, converted his numerous captives into instruments of future conquest. The Mahometan law assigned him the fifth part of the spoil and of the captives. The most robust of the Christian youths were educated in the Mahometan religion, and trained to the exercise of arms.

Such was the origin of that famous body of troops called janissaries, instituted by Amurath I. and continued by succeeding sultans to the present day. The janissaries soon became the best soldiers of the age; as a regular body of infantry, in constant exercise and pay, was not then maintained by any of the princes of Europe. They fought with the zeal of proselytes, and the valour of veterans. In almost every encounter their firmness and discipline commanded victory. The swords of the janissaries, however, could not protect the sultan from the determined vengeance of a Servian soldier. After the battle of Cassova, as Amurath was walking over the field of battle, a soldier of the enemy, suddenly starting up from among the wounded that lay on the ground, gave him a mortal wound in the body. The reign of Amurath I. was glorious and successful. His conquests, however, were equalled by those of Bajazet I. his son and successor, surnamed Ilderim or the Lightning; an epithet expressive of his character. All his enterprises were marked with decision, and all his expeditions were performed with a rapidity, which scarcely left his opponents any time to prepare for defence. During the fourteen years of his reign, he turned his arms with equal vigour and success against the Christians of Europe, and the Mahometans of Asia. He subdued all the remaining possessions of the Byzantine empire in Greece, Macedonia, and the other provinces. Bajazet was the first of the Ottoman princes who penetrated into Hungary. In the bloody battle of Nicopolis, he defeated an army of one hundred thousand Christians; among whom, were some of the principal barons of France and Germany. The greater part of these warriors were killed or drowned in the Danube. At the commencement of the fifteenth century, the Greek, or as it was still preposterously called, the Roman empire, was restricted to a corner, between the Propontis and the Euxine. Its whole territory did not exceed fifty miles in length, by about thirty in breadth; and this contracted spot was the theatre of religious and political

factions. Bajazet, however, was about to annihilate this remnant of the Byzantine power, when the progress of another conqueror from the east called him to the defence of his own dominions. The Turkish sultan had already formed the ockade of Constantinople, when he received intelligence hat Tamerlane, after having captured Bagdad, Damascus n.. Aleppo, had invaded Asia Minor, and was pushing his conquests towards the Hellespont. He soon saw the necessity of opposing the progress of this formidable conqueror. Historians assign to Bajazet an army of four hundred thousand horse and foot.

The number of Tamerlane's forces is so differently stated, that any attempt at a computation would be useless. The issue of the contest, however, is certain. The decisive battle of Angora, fought in the year 1402, will ever be celebrated for the triumph of Tamerlane, and the misfortune of Bajazet. The Turks were defeated with prodigious slaughter, and the sultan himself, after displaying all the energy of his character in the operations of that memorable day, was taken prisoner. The conclusion of this prince's reign, therefore, was as unfortunate as the former part of it had been happy and prosperous. Bajazet never re-ascended the Ottoman throne, but died in captivity, affording a memorable instance of the inconstancy of fortune.

On the captivity and death of Bajazet, the Turkish empire was rent asunder. The Mongols had evacuated the western countries of Asia. Their armies had departed laden with spoil, but no troops were left to secure their conquests. Timur, having broken the fabric of their ancient governments, abandoned the conquered nations to all the evils of anarchy. A great part of Asia Minor was restored to the emirs, from whom it had been wrested by Bajazet. The five sons of this Ottoman monarch were eager to consume by domestic contests the small remnant of their patrimony. The death of Bajazet happened in the year 1403, the second of his captivity. During the space of eighteen years the civil wars be-

tween his sons rendered the sovereignty uncertain, and the empire a scene of anarchy. Mahomet I. the last of those sons that ascended the throne, dying in 1421, was succeeded by his son Amurath II. The succession however was contested by Mustapha, who was considered as the last surviving son of Bajazet. But whatever might be the merit of his pretensions, he was defeated, and his death closed the scene of domestic hostility.

During this enfeebled and distracted state of the Turkish empire, nothing would have been more easy to a confederacy of the Christian nations, than the annihilation of the Ottoman power, at least in Europe. But the discord which prevailed in Christendom, diverted the attention of the Latins from this generous enterprise. Had the Greeks of Constantinople been animated by the spirit of the ancient Romans, of whom they considered themselves the representatives, they would have been equal to the task of expelling the Turks without any foreign aid. But such was the supineness of the Greeks and other Europeans that the whole strength of the Ottomans became re-united in the person of Amurath II. who, after the defeat of his rival Mustapha, immediately laid siege to Constantinople. Animated with religious enthusiasm, and the expectation of plunder, crowds of volunteers from Asia flocked to his standard. Having in view the glorious alternative of the crown of martyrdom, or the spoils of Constantinople, their religious and military ardour seemed to be irresistible. The strength of the walls, however, and the bravery of their defenders, many of whom were foreign mercenaries, baffled all the assaults of two hundred thousand Turks. Miracles and visions were on both sides called into action, in order to animate the vulgar. The city of the Cæsars bravely sustained a siege of two months, at the expiration of which time, the Greeks had the satisfaction of seeing the Ottoman standards removed from before their walls. A treaty of peace was concluded, by which, on condition of paying an annual tribute, the shadow of the Byzantine empire

was still permitted to enjoy a precarious existence. In the midst of prosperity and success, Amurath abdicated his throne in favour of his son, and retired to the society of dervises, among whom the lord of the Turkish world spent his time in fasting and prayer, and in performing the extravagant ceremonies of these Mahometan monks. But the public danger drew him from his retirement. The Hungarian invasion required the presence of an experienced and victorious commander. The Roman pontiff, Eugenius, had projected a crusade against the Turks; but the indifference of the western nations to these religious wars, was not less remarkable at this period, than the headlong ardour which they had exhibited in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Ladislaus king of Poland and Hungary, however, undertook the glorious task of delivering Europe from the threatened yoke of the Ottomans. Numbers of private adventurers from France and Germany enlisted under the holy banner of the Hungarian monarch. An alliance was at the same time formed with the Greek emperor, and the sultan of Caramania. Ladislaus, passing the Danube, gained two important victories, both of which are ascribed to the valor of John Hunniades, the celebrated Hungarian general, one of the greatest heroes of the age. A peace was concluded, and the contracting parties swore on the gospel, and the Koran, to preserve it inviolate. But no sooner was the treaty signed, than intelligence was received, that the Ottoman dominions in Anatolia were attacked by the sultan of Caramania; and that Thrace was in like manner invaded by the Greek emperor. The Christians, at the instance of the pope's legate, broke the truce. The Turkish monarch appealed to the justice of God, and called on Jesus his prophet to avenge the impious mockery of his name and religion. In the memorable battle of Wama, Amurath is said to have displayed a copy of the treaty in the front of his armed legions, as a monument of Christian perfidy. The Hungarians, however, severely felt the effects of their breach of faith in the total defeat of their army, and

the loss of their king, who fell on the field of battle. Amurath, having thus led the Turkish armies to victory, returned to Magnesia to fast and pray with the dervises. But the unanimous voice of the divan solicited him to resume the reins of government. His presence over-awed the tumultuous soldiery, and he was reluctantly compelled to support the splendour and the fatigues of royalty, till death relieved him from the troubles and cares of that exalted station.

Amurath II. was succeeded by Mahomet II. From the moment of his accession he meditated the conquest of Constantinople. That imperial city was already surrounded by the Ottoman dominions. Both the eastern and western shores of the Bosphorus, from the suburbs of that metropolis to the entrance of the Euxine, were possessed by the Turks. In order to complete the blockade of Constantinople on that quarter, he built a strong fortress on the European side of the narrowest part of the Bosphorus. A prodigious number of masons and labourers were employed in its construction, and the sultan himself urged and directed the work with indefatigable ardour. The Greek emperor contemplated its advancement with terror, and could not but consider its towers and bulwarks as the signals of his own destruction. The Turkish monarch evidently sought a pretext for war, and such are always easily found. The Turks, harassed with accumulated injuries the Greeks in the vicinity of the capital. For some time the communication between the former and the Grecian metropolis was free and open; but, at last, the intentions of the sultan were so unequivocally hostile that the gates were shut; and about the end of the year 1452, both sides began openly to prepare for war. At this serious crisis, Constantine Palæologus, the last of the long line of emperors who since the time of Constantine the great had worn the imperial purple, was almost without dependence on the courage of his subjects or the aid of foreigners. He implored by his prayers the assistance of heaven and earth, but both were deaf to his supplications. Christendom

beheld the danger of Constantinople with the same indifference, as Constantinople had nearly one thousand years before viewed the overthrow of her elder sister Rome. Some of the European states were too weak, and others too remote to lend any effectual assistance; and most of them were involved in endless quarrels, and actuated with perpetual jealousies. The spirit of the crusades was now extinguished, and even had it still subsisted in its ancient vigour, the inveterate animosity of the Greeks against the Latin church would have prevented the Roman pontiff from espousing their quarrel, and the western princes from arming in their cause. The inhabitants of Constantinople had lost all spirit for active enterprises. The preceding emperor, John Palæologus, with the prelates of the Greek church, had, in the moment of danger and alarm, consented to an ostensible union with the see of Rome. But the great body of the clergy and people had rejected that measure with abhorrence; the prelates abjured their new faith, and the emperor himself before his death renounced the union.

While religious fanaticism agitated the minds of the people, the emperor was preparing his means of defence. These, however, were found extremely inadequate to the danger. The Ottoman army which laid siege to Constantinople, has been variously estimated in regard to its numbers. By some historians we find them magnified to three hundred thousand, and by others diminished to eighty thousand. But the small number of defenders would appear almost incredible, did not the state of Constantinople exhibit a people in the lowest state of degradation; and manifestly show, that luxury, faction, and religious bigotry, had extinguished the spirit of patriotism, and the last sparks of martial ardor. After the most diligent inquiry, no more t an four thousand nine hundred and seventy persons could be found, who were able and willing to take arms in defence of their families and their country. The Italian mercenaries had long been the support of the falling empire of Constantinople; but a nation, that ne-

glects its own defence, can never expect in the extremity of danger to be effectually defended by foreigners. On the 6th of April 1453, the memorable siege of Constantinople commenced. The assaults of the Turks, although violent and almost incessant, were bravely repulsed by the small number of defenders. The Turkish sultan had procured the ablest engineers, and the most effective engines of war, whether of ancient or recent invention. He had prepared the most formidable train of artillery that had hitherto been known, and thirteen batteries thundered at once against the walls of the devoted city. Among these horrible engines of destruction, historians particularly mention a cannon of an enormous size, which ejected a stone of six hundred pounds weight.

In the first apprehension of a siege, the Greek emperor had solicited the succours of the christian princes, but with little effect. Four Genoese vessels, however, at last proceeded with a strong south wind, through the Hellespont into the Propontis, and found Constantinople invested by land and sea. The Turkish fleet of eighteen gallies and a great number of open boats stretched from shore to shore at the entrance of the Bosphorus. The Genoese vessels, advancing with a full press of sail, assisted by the force of oars, attacked the fleet of the besiegers, and in the presence of the city and camp, and of innumerable spectators, who lined the shores of Europe and Asia, gained a complete victory. The Turkish fleet was dispersed, and their loss of men was very considerable. The christian squadron, triumphantly steered up the Bosphorus, and anchored securely within the chain of the harbour. This was the only attempt made by the christian powers, for the relief of Constantinople. A resistance so obstinate, and so unexpected, began to exhaust the patience of Mahomet; and the reduction of the city appeared to be hopeless, unless a double attack could be made from the harbour and the land. But the harbour was inaccessible. The Genoese and Greek vessels, anchored at its mouth, formed an impenetrable barrier which the Turks could not flatter

themselves with the hopes of being able to force. In this difficulty, the genius of the sultan conceived and executed the bold and decisive project of transporting by land, his vessels and military stores, from the Bosphorus, to the higher part of the harbour. In a single night, the Turkish fleet was by the power of men and rollers, steered over the hills and plains, for the space of ten miles, and lanched into the shallow waters of the harbour beyond the annoyance of the larger vessels of the Greeks and Italians.* A floating battery was immediately formed of large casks joined with rafters, linked together with iron, and covered with a floor of planks. On this platform, the sultan placed one of his largest pieces of cannon; while eighty gallies, with troops, and scaling ladders, approached; the parts which had formerly been stormed by the French and Venetians. Forty days had now elapsed, and the fate of Constantinople began to appear inevitable. The feeble garrison was exhausted, by the double attack from the land and the harbour; the fortifications were every where dismantled by the Turkish artillery, and several breaches were made. For the payment of the mutinous troops, the emperor was obliged to despoil the churches of their ornaments. The spirit of discord contributed to weaken the feeble remnant of his strength. Jealousies arose between the Greeks, and their Italian auxiliaries, and the former were divided into factions among themselves. Mahomet, in the meanwhile, desirous of sparing the blood of his soldiers, and of securing unimpaired, the treasures of Constantinople, offered terms of peace and capitulation. To the prince, he offered a rich equivalent; to the people a free toleration of their religion, or a safe departure. Constantine offered an annual tribute; but a sense of honour induced him to refuse the surrender of his capital, which had during so many ages, been the imperial seat of his predecessors. After much fruitless negociation, the sultan, determining either to perish or

* It must, however, be remembered that the Turkish ships were little better than large boats.

reign in Constantinople, declared his final resolution of finding a throne within, or a grave under its walls. And the Greek emperor, after this declaration, resolved to abide all the extremities of war. The most extensive, preparations for were made the last assault. The Turkish sultan assembled his officers, and dispersed his heralds through the camp, to proclaim the motives of the perilous enterprize. Promises and threats, were profusely lavished, in order to excite courage, or extinguish cowardice. A crowd of dervises visited the tents, to inspire the contempt of death, by assuring the soldiers of the crown of martyrdom, and the joys of paradise, if they should fall in the assault. While these holy fanatics, flattered them with the hopes of eternal felicity, the sultan animated them with the prospect of temporal advantages. By a solemn declaration, he resigned to the army, the whole of the captives, and the plunder, and reserved nothing for himself, but the city. Such various and potent motives diffused among the Turks, a general ardor. Every man seemed regardless of life, and impatient for action.

The people of Constantinople, in the meanwhile, execrated the obstinacy of their emperor in refusing to surrender. But while they anticipated all the horrors of their fate, nothing could rouse them to exertion. The noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the imperial palace, to prepare for the grand assault. The example of the monarch, armed this small band of warriors, with courage, but it was the courage of despair. Regardless of their families and fortunes, they staked their lives on the issue; and each commander, departing to his station, kept a vigilant watch all night on the rampart. The emperor entered the church of St. Sophia, and having prepared himself for death, by devoutly receiving the sacrament, mounted on horseback to visit the guards, and observe the motions of the enemy. The Turks were strenuously employed during the night. The troops, the cannon and facines were advanced to the edge of the ditch; and the prows of the gallies and the scal-

ing ladders almost touched the most exposed walls of the harbour. On the memorable 29th of May, 1453, at day-break, the general assault commenced at once from the harbour, and the land. The foremost ranks of the Turks, ascending the walls, were instantly precipitated, and the ditch was soon filled up with the heaps of slain. Under their respective bashaws, and sanjiaks, the troops of Anatolia, and Romania, were successively repulsed with horrible slaughter. Not a stroke of the Greeks and Italians was lost on this accumulated throng, and during the space of two hours, they maintained their advantage. But their strength, and ammunition were exhausted by the continuance of the assault, and the number of the Turks exceeded that of Christians, in the proportion of forty to one. From the lines, the gallies, and the floating battery, the Ottoman artillery thundered on the city; and the double walls were reduced to a heap of ruins. In the midst of this scene of blood, of horror, and confusion, the voice of the Greek emperor was constantly heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a grand effort, the deliverance of their country. The whole vanguard of the Turks, had already perished, but at this momentous crisis, the invincible janisaries advanced, fresh and vigorous, to the assault. Mahomet himself, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator, and judge of their valor. He was attended by a numerous body of domestic troops, who were posted behind the lines, in order to urge forward the assailants, and to inflict the punishment of instant death, on those who should attempt to retreat. After the most desperate efforts, the ruined walls of the city were at last covered with the Turkish troops, and their brave defenders were overwhelmed by the increasing multitudes. The emperor, having fulfilled all the duties of a monarch, a general, and a soldier, threw off the imperial purple, in order to avoid being known by the enemy, and gloriously fell in the breach, amidst heaps of the slain. After his death, there was no further resistance. The Greeks fled into the city, and the victorious Turks,

rushed in through the different breaches. The confusion was indescribable. Multitudes were pressed, or trodden to death in the narrow passages. From every quarter of the capital, the trembling inhabitants flocked in crowds to the church of St. Sophia, and sought protection from that sacred dome. The Turks having forced the doors, met with no resistance. The imagination may more readily conceive, than language can describe, the scene that ensued. All who were found within, were seized as captives, and bound together without distinction of rank, or sex. Prelates were linked with porters, senators with slaves, and ladies of noble birth, with beggars. In this condition, they were driven through the streets, while their trembling pace was quickened by menaces and blows. At the same moment, the pillage became general throughout the whole city. The churches and monastaries, the palaces of the great, and the plebeian habitations, were ransacked; and no place, however sacred or sequestered, could afford any security to the property, or persons of the inhabitants. About sixty thousand of these devoted people, were conveyed to the camp, and there sold, or exchanged like cattle, and afterwards dispersed as slaves, through the different provinces of the Ottoman empire. Could historical inquiry follow these unfortunate victims, through the subsequent scenes of servitude and sorrow, what a picture of melancholy, would the remainder of their lives display to the eye of compassion! While history represents to our view, the sufferings of those who have long ago ceased to exist, we are inclined to rejoice that man is not immortal.

In the fall and sack of great cities, an historian is condemned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity: the same effects must be produced by the same passions, and when those passions may be indulged without control, small, alas! is the difference between civilized and savage man. The Turks are not accused of a wanton or immoderate effusion of Christian blood; but according to their maxims, the lives of the vanquished were forfeited: and the legitimate reward

of the conqueror, was derived from the service, the sale, or the ransom, of his captives of both sexes. The wealth of Constantinople had been granted by the sultan, to his victorious troops; and the rapine of an hour is more productive than the industry of years. The Byzantine libraries were destroyed or scattered in the general confusion; one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts are said to have disappeared. Ten volumes might be purchased for a single ducat, and the same ignominous price included the whole works of Aristotle and Homer, the noblest productions of ancient Greece. We may reflect with pleasure, that an inestimable portion of our classic treasures, was previously deposited in Italy, and that the mechanics of a German town, had lately invented an art, which derides the havoc of time and barbarism.

By the command of the sultan, the cathedral church of St. Sophia was transformed into a mosque; the rich and portable instruments of religion, had been removed; the crosses were thrown down; and the walls, which were covered with images and mosaics, were washed, and purified, and restored to a state of naked simplicity. On the same day religious rites, conformably to the Koran, were performed on the great altar, where the Christian mysteries had so lately been celebrated, before the last of the Cæsars. From St. Sophia, the emperor proceeded to the august, but desolate mansion of an hundred successors of the great Constantine: but which in a few hours, had been stripped of the pomp of royalty. A melancholy reflection on the vicissitudes of human greatness, forced itself on his mind, and he repeated an elegant distich of Persian poetry. "The spider has wove his web in the imperial palace, and the owl hath sung her death song, on the towers of Afrasiab."

Such was the dreadful catastophe of the capital of the eastern empire, about eleven hundred and twenty-nine years after its foundation by Constantine, and after having been through a long succession of ages, the chief city in the world, unrivalled in wealth and magnificence. Mr. Gibbon suppo-

ses, that Constantinople could scarcely contain fewer than one hundred thousand inhabitants. Had its pusillanimous citizens been animated by the spirit of the ancient Romans, or had they imitated the bravery of their emperor, they might have escaped their misfortunes, and seen the efforts of Turkish valor vainly exhausted against their walls. Constantine Palœologus, the last of the Greek emperors, appears greater in his fall than most of his predecessors in their prosperity and splendor. The sultan respected his valor, and bestowed on him the honors of a decent funeral.

Constantinople was now naked and desolate; her prince was fallen by the sword, and her people dragged into captivity. But her incomparable situation, which marks her for the metropolis of a great empire, caused her to triumph over the accidents of fortune. Mahomet II. established the residence of the Ottoman monarchs on the same commanding spot which Constantine had chosen for the capital of the Roman world. As the entire property of the soil and buildings, whether public or private, profane or sacred, was now transferred to the conqueror, he first separated a space of eight furlongs from the point of the triangle, for the establishment of his seraglio, or palace. It is here in the bosom of luxury, that the grand seignor appears to reign over Europe and Asia. The injury which the city had sustained by the siege, was repaired; and the population was speedily renewed by families from Anatolia, and Romania, with numerous Greeks, who flocked in crowds to Constantinople, as soon as they were assured of their lives, their liberties, and the free exercise of their religion.

The importance of Constantinople was felt and magnified in its loss; the pontificate of Nicholas the fifth was dishonored by the fall of the eastern empire; and the grief and terror of the Latins revived or seemed to revive, the old enthusiasm of the crusades. A proposition was made for uniting the christians of Europe, to effect the expulsion of the Mahometans, from their recent western conquests; but

nothing efficient resulted from it. Had every breast glowed with the same ardor;—had the union of the christians corresponded with their bravery;—had every country, from Sweden to Naples, supplied a just proportion of cavalry and infantry;—of men and money; it is indeed probable, that Constantinople would have been delivered, and that the Turks might have been chased beyond the Hellespont, or the Euphrates. But the secretary of the emperor, who composed every epistle, and attended every meeting, Eneas Silvius, a statesman and orator, describes, from his own experience, the discouraging state, and spirit of Christendom. "It is a body," saith he "without an head; a republic without laws, or magistrates. The pope, and the emperor, are unable to command, and none are willing to obey; every state has a separate prince, and every prince has a separate interest. What eloquence could unite so many discordant and hostile powers, under the same standard? When assembled in arms, who would dare to assume the office of general? What order could be maintained? What military discipline? Who would undertake to feed such an enormous multitude? Who would understand their various languages, or direct their incompatible manners? What mortal could reconcile the English with the French, Genoa with Arragon, the Germans with the natives of Bohemia? If a small number enlisted in the holy war, they must be overthrown by the infidels; if many, by their own weight and confusion."

Having traced by dim lights, the obscure progress of the Turks, from the remote regions of central Asia; and the frequent revolutions of their empire, from the first appearance of the Seljukian power, to the rise and establishment of the Ottoman dynasty, we have been somewhat explicit, in relating the conquest of Constantinople, and the establishment of the Ottoman empire, as a European power. This, indeed, is one of those important revolutions in human affairs, which are worthy of the pen of the historian, and the attention of the philosopher. The progress of the Turkish arms, and

the subversion of the Greek empire, have contributed to the revival of learning in Europe; while she has seen a new power established, which, although at present, far from being formidable, and exhibiting all the symptoms of decline, has more than once excited universal alarm, and greatly influenced the politics of that quarter of the globe. The subsequent history of the Ottoman empire will be treated with greater brevity. Most of its principal events are in general, such only as are common in all political histories; wars without any decisive issue, any remarkable extension of dominion, or aggrandizement of power; and in fine, without producing any important alteration in the state of human affairs.

After the capture of Constantinople, Mahomet extended his conquests on every side. Trebisond, where a prince of the Comnenian family reigned, and still kept up a faint image of the Greek empire, was reduced under his dominion; and the last sparks of the Byzantine power were extinguished. But history cannot overlook the exploits of George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg, whose name is so famous, but whose history is so imperfectly known. This young hero, son of the prince of Albania, the ancient Epirus, having been delivered by his father as a hostage to Amurath II. had been educated in the Ottoman court; instructed in the Mahomedan religion; and trained to the Turkish discipline. He had risen into favour by his abilities and valor; but had constantly cherished the idea of liberating his country. Being sent into Servia at the head of an army, he there heard of the death of his father, and being at the same time informed, that a secretary of the Ottoman court was to pass near his camp, he caused him to be seized, and compelled him to put the sultan's signet to an order, enjoining the governor of Croya, the capital of Albania, to deliver up to him the town and citadel. This stratagem had the desired effect. The gates of Croya were opened to the imperial mandate. The Turkish garrison was massacred. Castriot dropped the mask

of dissimulation—abjured the doctrines of the prophet—renounced his allegiance to the sultan—and proclaimed himself the avenger of his family, and country. At the sound of religion and liberty, the Albanians crowded to his standard, and he made so good a use of the mountainous situation of the country, as to defy, during the long space of twenty-three years, all the efforts of the Ottoman power. The mighty Amurath, at the head of sixty thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, entered Albania. The whole force of Scanderbeg did not amount to more than fifteen thousand. With forces so inferior, he baffled all the efforts of his powerful antagonist, and Amurath retired with disgrace and loss, from the siege of Croya. In the plenitude of power, and amidst the glory of conquest, the victorious arms of Mahomet II. were repeatedly baffled by this illustrious patriot, who, till the last hour of his existence, proved himself the invincible champion of his country. After a life of danger and glory, the hero saw his resources nearly exhausted, and died in extreme distress. The immediate ruin of his country, was the consequence of his death. His infant son was saved from the national shipwreck. The Castriots were invested with a Neapolitan dukedom, and their blood continues to flow in some of the noble families of that realm.*

The most formidable opponent that Mahomet found, in the career of his conquests, was John Hunniades, the Hungarian general, already mentioned. By his courage and conduct, the progress of the Ottoman arms was checked, on the banks of the Danube. The last, and most glorious action of his life, was his gallant defence of Belgrade, against Mahomet II. who, during the space of forty days, besieged that city and fortress in person. The Turks had already entered the

* Du Cange ap. Gibbon, vol. 12. p. 175. It is said, that the Turks having broken open his sepulchre, the janisaries wore his bones enchased in their bracelets, as an amulet to inspire them with courage. A more honorable testimony of his martial talents could not be given, than that, which this superstition of his enemies afforded.

place, when they were compelled to retreat, and Belgrade succeeded Constantinople, in the title of bulwark of Christendom. The knights of Rhodes, in their island, also opposed the Ottoman arms with success. But on the continent, the sultan extended his conquests as far westward as Trieste, and by his capture of the town of Otranto, fixed the Mahometan power in Italy. Rome and Venice were at once threatened with subjugation. The lofty genius, and boundless ambition of Mahomed II. aspired to the conquest of Italy, as well as of Greece; and all Europe trembled at the progress of the Ottoman arms. At this critical moment, the death of the sultan, in his fifty-first year, delivered Christendom from its fears. The character of this most famous of the Ottoman princes, has been variously represented by historians. His learning has been frequently extolled, and probably exaggerated. He is said to have spoken, or understood five languages, the Arabian, the Persian, the Hebrew, the Greek, and the Latin. Without giving implicit credit to the praises bestowed on his literature, we may indeed believe, that he was well skilled in geography and history;—that his understanding was strong, and his genius elevated. It must, however, be confessed that he wanted some of the graces of civilization, and that in his character, the scholar was united with the barbarian. As a politician and a warrior, his successes have acquired for him a reputation, which perhaps exceeds his merit. In all his successful enterprizes, his armies were superior, both in numbers and discipline, to those of his enemies; and he was constantly baffled, by the inferior forces of Hunniades and Scanderbeg. The conquest of Constantinople has immortalized his name; but if a warlike people had defended its walls, the city of the Cæsars would have been the monument of his disgrace, rather than of his triumph.

The Ottoman arms were never more formidable to Europe, than at the death of Mahomet II. A. D. 1481; but the gradual extension of the empire still continued, and during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the preponderancy

of the Turkish power gave just cause of apprehension to the Christian states. It would be useless, to enter into details of the conquests of the Ottoman monarchs. It is sufficient to observe, that by long and bloody wars, the Venetians lost all their possessions in the Morea, and the isles of the Archipelago. Many of these victories, indeed, were obtained at a vast expense of blood and treasure. Mahomet II. was succeeded by his son Bajazet II. who was frequently engaged in wars, with Persia and Egypt, as well as with the Venetians and Hungarians. He was succeeded by his second son Selim, who annexed Syria and Egypt to his dominions. Solyman II. surnamed the magnificent, is generally esteemed the greatest prince, that ever sat on the Ottoman throne. He took the island of Rhodes, after a desperate resistance, from the knights; and his whole reign of forty-five years, from 1520, to 1565, was almost a continual scene of hostilities, with the Christian princes. He captured Belgrade, and conquered all Hungary; and in 1528, entered Austria, and besieged Vienna; but retired on the approach of Charles V. He was generally successful, both by land and sea; but the island of Malta triumphed over the Ottoman power. Mustapha, Solyman's general, after a siege of five months, and the loss of twenty thousand men, was obliged to abandon the enterprize. La Valette, the grand master, and the whole body of the knights, gained immortal honour on this occasion. Solyman was succeeded in 1565, by his son Selim II. Selim having failed in an attempt on Persia, resolved to indemnify himself, by the conquest of Cyprus, which then belonged to the Venetians. Nicosia, thecapital, and Famagusta, were taken by storm, after a desperate resistance; and the acquisition of this island, is said to have cost the Turks, not less than one hundred thousand men.

The fate of Cyprus alarmed the Christian powers. A ing l ue was formed between the pope, the Venetians, and the their iards. Don John of Austria was appointed to the chief able t this sup

command of the confederate fleet, which met with that of the Turks, in the gulf of Lepanto, near Corinth. In this place, in 1570, near the promontory of Actium, famous for the victory obtained near one thousand six hundred years before, by Octavius over Mark Antony, was fought the greatest naval engagement, recorded in modern history. The force on both sides, was nearly equal; and the combat was singularly obstinate and bloody. The gallies grappled together. The combatants fought hand to hand. Neither Spaniard, Italian, nor Turk, quitted his station. All showed the same contempt of danger and death. Hali, the Turkish admiral, surrounded with four hundred of the boldest janisaries, and Don John of Austria, with a number of chosen warriors, maintained, in this manner, during the space of three hours, the close and sanguinary conflict. At last, the Ottoman admiral fell; his galley was taken; his head was instantly placed on the stern, and the banner of the cross was displayed, from the main-mast. All was now a scene of confusion and carnage. The cry of victory, resounded through the Christian fleet, and the enemy every where gave way. Thirty thousand Turks, fell in this dreadful conflict; ten thousand were made prisoners, and fifteen thousand Christian slaves were liberated. The latter circumstance presents to the eye of humanity, a pleasing trait in this otherwise shocking picture of blood and carnage. Of the Turkish gallies, thirty were sunk, twenty-five burnt, and one hundred and thirty captured. Had the Christians been united in their councils, and prompt in pursuing their advantage, the Ottoman empire could never more have recovered its maritime strength. But during the winter, which the confederates spent in inaction, the Turks equipped another fleet, and again spread terror over the coasts of the Mediterranean. A peace, however, was soon afterwards concluded, and Cyprus was formally ceded to the Ottoman Porte.

During the reign of Solyman the magnificent, and the former part of that of his son Selim II. the Turkish empire was in the zenith of its greatness. Its armies, flushed with repeated conquests, were formidable to all Europe. The succeeding reigns of Amurath III. Mahomet III. Achmet and Osman, which fill up the space, from 1575, to 1623, furnish few events of importance, in a general view of history. Mahomet III. is infamously distinguished for his cruelty, in causing his nineteen brothers to be strangled; and ten of his father's concubines, on account of their supposed pregnancy, to be thrown into the sea. Osman being put to death by the janisaries, in 1623, was succeeded by Morad, or Amurath IV. in whose reign, Bagdad was taken from the Persians. He was succeeded in 1640, by his brother Ibrahim; who reigned eight years, and was strangled by the janisaries. In the reign of his successor, Mustapha IV. Candia was taken from the Venetians, after a siege of more than twenty years, the longest recorded in history. The conquest of Candia, cost the Turks one hundred and eighty thousand men; and the Venetians, with their allies, lost above eighty thousand in its defence. It was in this reign, in the year 1683, that Vienna was unsuccessfully besieged by the Turks, who raised the siege, at the approach of John Sobieski, king of Poland. Mahomet IV. was shut up in prison by his subjects, and succeeded by his brother Solyman. During his reign, and that of his brother and successor, Achmet II. the Turks were generally unsuccessful in war. Mustapha II. who ascended the throne in 1694, was an active prince. He commanded his armies in person; but was totally defeated, by the famous prince Eugene of Savoy, at the battle of Zenta, in Hungary. The war, between the Turks and the Imperialists, was terminated in 1699, by the peace of Carlovitz. Mustapha was soon afterwards deposed, and his brother, Achmet III. ascended the throne. In his reign, Charles XII. took refuge at Bender; and Peter the Great was surrounded on the banks of the Pruth. The reign of Achmet was unfortunate.

In Hungary, prince Eugene repeatedly defeated the Turks, with great slaughter, and compelled the sultan to conclude the peace of Passarowitz. An unsuccessful war with the Persians, under Nadir Shah, succeeding this disadvantageous peace, the populace of Constantinople demanded the heads of the vizier, of the chief admiral, and of the secretary, a request which was immediately granted. But even this sacrifice was not sufficient to calm the enraged multitude. The sultan himself was deposed, and Mahomet V. was advanced to the throne. He was also unsuccessful in his wars against Nadir Shah, whom he was obliged to recognize, as king of Persia. Mahomet V. died in 1754. He was succeeded by his brother Osman, who died in 1757, and was followed by Mustapha III. who reigned till 1774. Achmet IV. his brother, held the reins of government till 1789, and, at his death, was succeeded by his nephew, Selim III. the son of Mustapha III. who was deposed in 1807, by the janisaries.

Most of the events thus rapidly recapitulated, are given in detail, in other parts of this work. It is necessary to add, that the Porte, having in the last war been attacked by France, was vigorously supported by England.

In taking a retrospective view of the Ottoman history, and contemplating the rise, progress, and decline of a nation, once so powerful, and so formidable as to threaten all Europe with subjugation; but at present, so weak and contemptible as to subsist only through the forbearance, or at least through the jealous politics and discordant interests of the Christian states, it is not difficult to discover the causes to which this vast empire owed its aggrandizement, and those which are operating its downfall. The Ottoman empire owed its rise to the anarchy which prevailed in Asia, after the fall of the Seljukian dynasty; and its aggrandizement to the weakness of the Byzantine empire, to its own peculiar military constitution, and to the abilities of its princes. The unwarlike state of the degenerate and pusillanimous Greeks, has been sufficiently described. The Ottoman constitution was, and is

to this day, a peculiar one.* The primitive subjects of Othman, the founder of the empire, originally consisted of a few hundreds of wandering families, whom his ancestors had led from the eastern side of the Caspian sea. These were soon lost in the mass of volunteers or captives, who, under the general appellation of Turks, became united by the common ties of religion, language, manners and interest. From the promiscuous assemblage, a new people was formed; and by education and discipline, a servile class was raised to conquer and command. The institution of the janisaries was admirable in a military point of view. They were the firm support of the Ottoman power, and the invincible instruments of its conquests. When the royal fifth of the captives was found insufficient to supply in each generation, a succession of new soldiers, a tax of every fifth child was levied on the Christian subjects. At the age of twelve or fourteen, the most promising boys were torn from their parents; their names were inserted on the roll, and from that moment they were maintained, and educated for the public service. They were first instructed in the Turkish language. Their bodies were exercised by every labour that could increase their strength, and after having learned to leap, to run, to wrestle, to use the bow, and musket, they were drafted into the companies of the janisaries, and rigorously trained in the military discipline of that order. Those who showed promising marks of genius, were selected for the schools of law and theology. There they applied themselves to the study of the Koran, and of the Arabic and Persian languages. According to seniority and merit, they were dismissed to civil, military, and ecclesiastical employments, and promoted by the choice of the sovereign to the highest honours and emoluments of the empire. Christian children were thus converted into Turkish soldiers, and statesmen. An artificial nation of Turks was

* The government of Egypt, under the Fatimite caliphs, bears the nearest resemblance to it. Their mamalukes were nearly similar to the Ottoman janisaries.

created. The ministers and generals were in the strictest sense the slaves of the sultan, who, in his turn, was indebted to them for his support. Without parents, family connections, or property, they were solely dependent on the hand that raised them from the dust. In the slow and painful steps of education, the character and talents of each were unfolded; and the man naked and alone, unsupported by rank or influence, was reduced to the standard of his personal merit. Through all the degrees of this singular constitution, from the vizier to the lowest cadi, from the general to the private centinel, the strictest order, obedience, and discipline, were steadily observed.

The janisaries being inured to submission by severe discipline, and trained from childhood to military exercises, soon became the chief strength and pride of the Ottoman armies. Enthusiasm was employed to inspire them with courage. At their first institution by Amurath I. they were solemnly recommended to the Divine protection by a famous Mahometan saint, who delivered to them the consecrated banner. Every mark of distinction, which the favour of the prince could confer, and every sentiment which religion could inspire, was employed to animate them with martial ardor, and with a consciousness of their own pre-eminence. When such an institution is compared with the unwarlike troops of the declining empire of the Greeks, or the disorderly armies of the European states, in that age, it is easy to perceive, that from the reign of Amurath I. to that of Solyman the great, the Turkish troops possessed every advantage that can result from superiority in military discipline.

The most intelligent authors of the sixteenth century, acknowledge the superior attainments of the Turks in the military art; and the success of their arms justifies the observation. But a military corps, constituted like the janisaries, can be useful only under active and vigorous monarchs, whose abilities command respect. Under such princes, they

are obsequious instruments. They execute whatever their sovereign enjoins, and render his power irresistible. Under weak and indolent monarchs, they become turbulent and mutinous, and assume the tone of masters. The first period of the Ottoman history, till the death of Solyman the great, presents a series of warlike princes, such as the annals of few other nations can boast. Since his reign, the Turkish sultans have, with a few exceptions, addicted themselves to a life of indolence and effeminacy in the bosom of the seraglio. In proportion to the inactivity, and feebleness of the government, the discipline of the janisaries has become relaxed; and this celebrated corps, once the firm support of the Ottoman throne, has become its terror. Like the pretorian guards of Rome, it has, in latter times, been more formidable to the sovereign and the people than to their external enemies. The other forces of the empire are in a state of still worse discipline than the janisaries, and are equally refractory. But while the military discipline of the Turks has been long declining, that of the European states has been gradually rising to perfection. The relative power of the parties to each other, has of course undergone a change.

The religion of the Turks is well known to be the Mahometan; but it is supposed, that in the European division of the empire, more than two thirds of the people are Christians of the Greek communion. The mufti is the principal ecclesiastic of the Mahometan religion. Next in rank are the moulaks, who, although, considered as dignitaries of the church, perform no divine service and are properly doctors of the law. From these, the judges and kadilesquiers or chief justices are selected. The next class of the Mahometan clergy are the imaums, who perform divine service in the mosques, and may be considered as the parish priests. But the moulaks are very different from the order of bishops among Christians. An essential distinction between the Mahometan and the Christian hierarchy, arises from the circumstance, that the Koran and the commentaries thereon,

are the only code of the civil law as well as the rule of religion. In Turkey, the terms of lawyer and theologian are synonymous. The cadis, who administer justice in the towns and villages, are considered as divines, and, like the moulaks, have directed their attention to the juridical part of the Koran; but the imaums, alone, can be truly regarded as priests. The Greeks have their hierarchy of priests, bishops, archbishops and patriarchs; but their church is in the last state of degradation. Its whole ecclesiastical system presents a scene of ambition, avarice, and intrigue; and its dignities are openly sold by the government. In Asiatic Turkey, besides the Mahometans and Greeks, the Armenians are exceedingly numerous. They embrace the doctrines of Eutychius, which admit of only one nature in Christ; a tenet that produces an irreconcilable enmity between them and the Greeks. All the Christians of Turkey indeed are in a degraded state. Both clergy and laity are extremely ignorant. In general they are strict observers of the fasts, festivals and other exterior ordinances of religion, but have little regard to moral duties. There are also Roman Catholics in most of the Turkish cities, and Jews are numerous. In Turkey the professors of any religion may purchase toleration with money.

The Ottoman government is despotic. The supreme power is vested in the sultan, who from his high elevation sees all his subjects reduced to the same level. Employment in his service, is the only circumstance that confers distinction; and whenever a minister, or general is no longer in office, he, and his family, sink into their original obscurity. In Turkey the only relation between the sovereign and the subject, is that of master and slave. As despotism, however, must stand on the basis of opinion or force, the arbitrary will of the sultan has two powerful checks, one in religion, the principle on which his authority is founded, and the other in the army, the instrument by which he must maintain his power. The sultan is indeed obliged to govern according to

the laws of the Koran, and the mufti and the moulaks are its interpreters. But as all the great officers of the law, with the mufti himself, who is at the head of the order, are appointed by the sultan, and removable at his pleasure, it is easy to perceive, that this body possesses little constitutional authority that can operate as a restraint on the will of the sovereign. The army appears to be the only power that can effectually check the despotism of government. The janisaries are, at once the support and the terror of the throne. As they are masters of the capital, and of the person and power of the sovereign, they depose and exalt sultans at their pleasure. All the revolutions that have taken place at the Porte, have been brought about by their agency, or at least by their approbation; without which, nothing could be effected. But in every revolution effected by military power, it is usual to confirm the acts of the soldiery by civil or religious formalities. Without this, government could not retain even any ostensible form of authority.

The Turkish laws are contained in the Koran, and in the comments of the most approved and learned doctors on that sacred book. These laws appear sufficiently equitable; but are often perverted by the avarice of the pashas and judges, and the system of oppression and corruption which pervades every department of the administration. Bribery is universally practised. Some rare instances of justice are related; but all travellers agree in their accounts, of the general venality of the Turkish judges.

At present the whole effective force of the Ottoman empire cannot be estimated above one hundred and fifty thousand men, ill disciplined, and dispirited by successive disasters, in the late contests with Russia. The want of discipline in the Turkish armies, renders them in time of war, not less destructive to the provinces of their own empire, through which they march, than to those of the enemy.

The Turkish navy consists, at present, of about thirty or forty ships of the line, with a proportionable number of gallies.

The revenues of the Ottoman empire are computed at about seven million pounds sterling, and arise from the land tax, the customs, and the capitation tax on unbelievers.

The commerce of Turkey is chiefly in the hands of foreigners; Franks, Armenians, and Jews. The principal ports are Constantinople and Smyrna, with Bassora on the Persian Gulph. The chief exports are currants, figs, silk, cotton, carpets, coffee, and drugs, particularly opium. The imports are cloth and various articles of European manufacture. The Turkey trade was formerly of great consequence to Great Britain, and the merchants who carried it on, were once the most opulent trading company in London. Since the middle of the 18th century, the French have had the principal share in this commerce. It is carried on chiefly from the port of Marseilles, which owes to the Turkey trade the greatest part of its opulence. The carpets, so highly valued in Europe, are the chief manufactures for exportation.

The population of European Turkey is about eight millions, a very inconsiderable number in proportion to the extent of territory, and the excellence of the soil and climate.

About the year 1560, the political weight of the Ottoman empire was the principal object of attention in the system of European politics, but it has long since lost this preponderancy. The importance of this declining empire, is at present to be estimated, not so much by what it is able to effect, as by the advantages which the neighbouring powers might derive from its dismemberment. It is to this view of things, that it owes the continuation of its existence. It is not improbable, that the Turks will at no very distant period be driven beyond the Bosphorus. Two great powers are ranged along these almost defenceless frontiers, the Russians, and the Austrians. On their division or union its fate depends. Its dissolution or dismemberment, whenever either shall happen, will most probably excite a general commotion in Europe. Such a revolution will constitute a new era in

the history of human affairs, and furnish a fund of speculation to the politician and the moral philosopher.

Turkey comprising several different nations, has also a variety of languages. Of these, the chief are, the Turkish, the modern Greek, the Syriac, and the Armenian. The Turkish language is a mixture of various dialects. The modern Greek is the most prevalent language in ancient Greece, and the islands of the Archipelago. It is also spoken in several of the other parts of Turkey, but it differs in many respects from the ancient classical language.

Literature is at a low ebb among the Turks, but it is not wholly neglected. The market for books in Constantinople is extensive, containing many shops well supplied with manuscripts, in the Turkish, Arabic, and Persian languages, and there are also several respectable public libraries. The introduction of printing has been repeatedly attempted, but the design has hitherto failed, through the representations of the numerous copyists, whom it would have deprived of employment and subsistence. It is now, however, likely to succeed. The Turkish poets and historians are greatly inferior to those of Persia and Arabia.

The ignorance of the Turks is so well known, that their system of education may be reasonably supposed to be defective. In Constantinople and other cities, there are several schools, but scarcely any that can deserve the name of a college or university. Theology, which includes the civil law, is almost the only science that is studied; and the knowledge of the Arabic and Persian languages is, among the Turks, the ne plus ultra of a learned education.

The different nations and tribes, inhabiting Turkey, exhibit a variety of customs and manners. Those of the Turks are, by the influence of their religion, impressed with a general character of uniformity throughout the empire. Their manners and social habits are extremely different from those of the Europeans. In their persons, the Turks are generally of a good stature, of an athletic form, and robust constitution.

Their dress is the turban, or red bonnet, wrapped round with numerous folds of white muslin or calico. The shirts worn by the Turks are of calico, with long sleeves, over which they wear a cossac, or long robe of fustian, satin, and often of gold tissue. The cossac is fastened with a girdle, of which the two ends, elegantly tasselled, hang down before. In this girdle is stuck a dagger, the handle of which is ornamented with gold and silver. The pocket-book, tobacco-box, &c. are carried in the bosom. The vest, or long robe, is worn over the cossac, and comes down to the heels. It is commonly of the finest French or English broad cloth, scarlet, brown, or olive green, and trimmed with the most costly furs. They wear pantaloons, which descend to the heels. The shoes, or rather slippers, are mostly of yellow leather. The Christians and Jews are not permitted to wear the turban, or the yellow slippers. The dress of the females differs little from that of the men, the chief distinction being in the head dress; that of the fair sex consisting of a bonnet of pasteboard, covered with cloth of gold, or other materials, with a veil reaching down to the eyebrows, while a handkerchief conceals the lower part of the face. The furniture of their houses is mean. The carpet, and a low sofa, are generally the principal articles. The Turks have little inclination to active diversions. To enjoy the shade, to recline on a sofa, to smoke tobacco, and to intoxicate themselves with opium, are their principal amusements. Games of hazard are prohibited by the Koran, but they frequently play at chess. The coffee houses and the baths furnish other sources of amusement, and the bairam, or carnival, which follows their long Lent, is a season of general dissipation. The Mahometan religion, by its peculiar ordinances, its regular hours of prayer, and its frequent ablutions, gives a particular tincture to the social habits and manners of its professors. To its frequent ablutions may be attributed the personal cleanliness, which, in both sexes, is so remarkable. The Greeks are as different in their customs and manners as in their religion. The Armenians are a polite and sensible peo-

ple. In amiableness of manners, and in purity of morals, they excel all the other subjects of the Turkish empire. Their patience and perseverance is astonishing. In long journies they are hardy and indefatigable, regarding no weather, even in the most rigorous seasons. The Armenians may, indeed, be considered as a phenomenon in the history of commerce. The greatest part of the trade of the Levant, and of the whole interior of Asia, is in their hands. Both by sea and land, they carry on an extensive traffic, and travel for commercial purposes into the most distant regions.

CIRCASSIA.

In the northern extremities of Asiatic Turkey, among the mountains of Caucasus, between the Euxine and the Caspian seas, are various tribes, with peculiar manners and customs, and distinct languages. Of these, the Circassians are the most numerous and important. They are a bold and warlike race. Their political system is strictly feudal. Their princes and usdens, or nobles, may be considered as constituting the nation, and their subjects as slaves, whom they have conquered. With the form, they have all the spirit of the feudal system, in the most barbarous ages of Europe. Private wars are common, and family quarrels are perpetuated. A prince or usden, never receives any compensation for the death of a relative or friend; but blood for blood is always required, and until this is obtained, the spirit of revenge descends to succeeding generations. The Circassians are much and deservedly celebrated for their personal beauty. Pallas observes of them, that "their females are generally well shaped, have a fair complexion, dark brown or black hair, and are justly proportioned;" and that he had met with a greater number of beautiful women among the Circassians, than in any other unpolished nation. A Circassian of rank never leaves the

house without his sabre, nor ventures beyond the precincts of his village, without being dressed in complete armour, and having his breast pockets filled with ball cartridges. The princes and nobles, employ themselves in war, pillage, and hunting; they live a luxurious and rambling life, and frequently meet in convivial parties. The nobles pay no taxes to the princes, but are obliged to serve personally int heir wars; the vassals or slaves are hereditary property, and are employed in cultivating the lands, breeding cattle &c. The princes commit the education of their children to the usdens; the sons are trained in all the discipline necessary to constitute a successful robber. The Circassian girls are, from their infancy, fed in the most sparing manner, in order that they may acquire a slender and delicate shape. They are instructed in embroidery, weaving of fringe, and other kinds of ornamental work belonging to the domestic economy of females. Till their marriage, their waists are compressed with a tight kind of stays. The Circassians are very cleanly in their persons and food. Not more than sixty years ago they professed Christianity; at present they are nominal Mahometans, but in fact, totally ignorant of religion. Their agriculture barely suffices for home consumption; their articles of trade are horses, sheep, and the slaves, which they take in their predatory excursions. They are excellent horsemen, and have several fine breeds of horses. These they take every measure to preserve and improve, and it is a capital crime with them to imprint on a horse, of the common race, a mark denoting noble descent. One of the most singular and striking features of the state of society in Turkey, especially the Asiatic part of the empire, is that one part of the people is civilized, while the other part consists of pastoral wanderers, and lawless depredators. In most parts of Asiatic Turkey, the government is so weak and inefficient, that bands of robbers infest the country to the very walls of the cities; and it is requisite in travelling from one large town to another, that the caravans should be well armed and guarded.

The Turks, although settled in Europe, are an Asiatic people, and their customs and manners, accordingly, bear little similarity to those of Europeans. All the other countries of Europe are, in some measure, fraternized by the profession of the Christian religion, and by a community of arts and studies, tending to a resemblance in manners, and ways of life. That portion of it which is held by the Turks, differs from all the rest, in almost every circumstance that characterizes civilized man. The difference is so great, as obviously to mark their intrusion upon this quarter of the globe, from that adjoining quarter whence they derive their origin. Prejudice, ignorance, and want of curiosity, gravity of deportment, and contempt of foreigners, are conspicuous traits in the national character of the Turks. These have been, generally, perhaps erroneously, attributed to the influence of Mahometanism. The religion of the Koran is not more intolerant in its nature than that of the Bible, if we may judge from the practice of most of the Christian sects; nor have the Mahometans ever treated the Christians so ill as the Christians have sometimes treated one another. Among the bright parts of the Turkish character, must be ranked their extensive charities, in which they are not surpassed by any people on earth. The numerous caravanseras for the accommodation of travellers, the provision of water, &c. for their comfort on the road, their hospitals, and alms-houses, all show a benevolent attention to the wants of their fellow-creatures. Their charity is even extended to the brute creation; and testamentary donations are often made for the relief of the dogs that ramble about the streets. The defects which appear in the national character, ought rather to be attributed to the baleful influence of a government ill planned, and worse administered, than to the doctrines of the Koran, which did not prevent science and letters from flourishing among the Arabians under their caliphs.

END OF VOL. VII.

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